# GREAT BOOKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, *EDITOR IN CHIEF*

*15.*

*TACITUS*

# The Annals

AND

# The Histories

BY

P CORNELIUS TACITUS



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# BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

## Tacitus, c 55 – c 117

The little that is known about the life of Tacitus is provided by allusions in his own writings and the letters addressed to him by his intimate friend, Pliny the Younger When Tacitus began his *Histories*, somewhere about his forty fifth year, he related his life to the empire that was to be the burden of his narrative 'I myself knew nothing of Galba, of Otho, or of Vitellius, either from benefits or from injuries I would not deny that my elevation was begun by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and still further advanced by Domitian I have reserved as an employment for my old age, should my life be long enough, a subject at once more fruitful and less anxious in the reign of the Divine Nerva and the empire of Trajan, enjoying the rare happiness of times, when we may think what we please, and express what we think "

The influential part of Tacitus' education took place during the early part of Vespasian's reign It is possible that, like his friend, Pliny, he was trained in rhetoric by Quintilian, for whom Vespasian had founded the first public chair of eloquence at Rome Tacitus himself records how zealous he was for achievement

youth Tacitus seemed of all the eminent men then active the most worthy of imitation

Tacitus' success as an orator was followed by marriage to the daughter of Julius Agricola, Governor of Britain, whose biography he later wrote, and by rapid attainment under successive emperors of the offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor During the four years from 89 to 93 he was absent from Rome in some administrative capacity, possibly a provincial governorship in Belgic Gaul, where he could have acquired the knowledge of German manners and customs he later used in his *Germany*

By the time Tacitus returned to Rome the full force of Domitian's tyranny had developed He later declared his father in law fortunate in death since he thereby escaped the sight of these last three years during which Domitian 'leaving now no interval or breathing space but, as it were, with one continuous blow, drained the life blood of the Commonwealth " Tacitus was at the height of his powers and a consulship was due him in the normal course of advancement Yet, unless he would risk his life, he could not abandon his office, seek advancement, or absent himself The orator chose silence, broken only when

any affection for me" Tacitus wrote of this experience 'Even Nero turned his eyes away, and did not gaze upon the atrocities which he ordered, with Domitian it was the chief part of our miseries to see and to be seen, to know

no doubt of the effect upon him "We witnessed the extreme of servitude when the informer robbed us of the interchange of speech and hearing We should have lost memory as well as voice, had it been as easy to forget as to keep silence" That he vowed to maintain memory

past servitude and then give testimony to present happiness As he worked on this book, and later on the *Annals*, he extended his memory past the emperors of his childhood, the four who succeeded one another within fourteen months after the death of Nero, to the death of Augustus

Tacitus was not out of public office during the rule of Nerva and Trajan He advanced to

Proconsul of Asia It is not known whether he survived the emperor Trajan, in whose reign his histories were brought out He did not fulfill his intention of celebrating Nerva and Trajan and the happiness of their times

## General Contents

# THE ANNALS

# Contents

# The Annals

## BOOK I, A D 14, 15

1. Rome at the beginning was ruled by kings Freedom and the consulship were established by Lucius Brutus Dictatorships were held for a temporary crisis The power of the decemvirs did not last beyond two years, nor was the consular jurisdiction of the military tribunes of long duration The despotisms of Cinna and Sulla were brief, the rule of Pompeius and of Crassus soon yielded before Cæsar, the arms of Lepidus and Antonius before Augustus, who, when the world was wearied by civil strife, subjected it to empire under the title of "Prince" But the successes and reverses of the old Roman people have been recorded by famous historians, and fine intellects were not wanting to describe the times of Augustus, till growing sycophancy scared them away The histories of Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero, while they were in power, were falsified through terror, and after their death were written under the irritation of a recent hatred Hence my purpose is to relate a few facts about Augustus—more particularly his last acts, then the reign of Tiberius, and all which follows, without either bitterness or partiality, from any motives to which I am far removed

2. When after the destruction of Brutus and Cassius there was no longer any army of the Commonwealth, when Pompeius was crushed in Sicily, and when, with Lepidus pushed aside and Antonius slain, even the Julian faction had only Cæsar left to lead it, then, dropping the title of triumvir, and giving out that he was a Consul, and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection of the people, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with the sweets of repose, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed, for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle, or in the proscription, while the remaining nobles, the readier they were to be slaves, were raised the higher by wealth and promotion, so that, aggrandised by revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the dangerous past Nor did the provinces dislike that condition of affairs, for they distrusted the government of the Senate and the people, because of the rivalries between the leading men and the rapacity of the officials, while the protection of the laws was unavailing, as they were continually deranged by violence, intrigue, and finally by corruption

3 Augustus meanwhile, as supports to his despotism, raised to the pontificate and curule ædileship Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son, while a mere stripling, and Marcus Agrippa, of humble birth, a good soldier, and one who had shared his victory, to two consecutive consulships, and as Marcellus soon afterwards died, he also accepted him as his son in law Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, his stepsons, he honoured with imperial titles, although his own family was as yet undiminished For he had admitted the children of Agrippa, Caius and Lucius, into the house of the Cæsars, and before they had yet laid aside the dress of boyhood he had most fervently desired, with an outward show of reluctance, that they should be entitled "princes of the youth," and be consuls-elect When Agrippa died, and Lucius Cæsar as he was on his way to our armies in Spain, and Caius while returning from Armenia, still suffering from a wound, were prematurely cut off by destiny, or by their step-mother Livia's treachery, Drusus too having long been dead, Nero remained alone of the stepsons, and in him everything tended to centre He was adopted as a son, as a colleague in empire and a partner in the tribunitian power, and paraded through all the armies, no longer through his mother's secret intrigues, but at her open suggestion For she had gained such a hold on the aged Augustus that he drove out as an exile into the island of Planasia, his only grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who, though devoid of worthy qualities, and having only the brute courage of physical strength, had not been convicted of any gross offence And yet Augustus had appointed

Germanicus, Drusus's offspring, to the command of eight legions on the Rhine, and required Tiberius to adopt him, although Tiberius had a son, now a young man, in his house; but he did it that he might have several safeguards to rest on He had no war at the time on his hands except against the Germans, which was rather to wipe out the disgrace of the loss of Quintilius Varus and his army than out of an ambition to extend the empire, or for any adequate recompense At home all was tranquil, and there were magistrates with the same titles, there was a younger generation, sprung up since the victory of Actium, and even many of the older men had been born during the civil wars How few were left who had seen the republic!

4 Thus the State had been revolutionised, and there was not a vestige left of the old sound morality Stript of equality, all looked up to the commands of a sovereign without the least apprehension for the present, while Augustus in the vigour of life, could maintain his own position, that of his house, and the general tranquillity. When in advanced old age, he was worn out by a sickly frame, and the end was near and new prospects opened, a few spoke in vain of the blessings of freedom, but most people dreaded and some longed for war. The popular gossip of the large majority fastened itself variously on their future masters. "Agrippa was savage, and had been exasperated by insult, and neither from age nor experience in affairs was equal to so great a burden Tiberius Nero was of mature years, and had established his fame in war, but he h...

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pre... ...oke out He had also from earliest infancy been reared in an imperial house, consulships and triumphs had been heaped on him in his younger days, even in the years which, on the pretext of seclusion he spent in exile at Rhodes, he had had no thoughts but of wrath, hypocrisy, and secret sensuality There was his mother too with a woman's caprice. They must, it seemed, be subject to a female and to two striplings besides, who for a while would burden, and some day rend asunder the State"

5. While these and like topics were discussed, the infirmities of Augustus increased, and some suspected guilt on his wife's part. For a rumour had gone abroad that a few months before he had sailed to Planasia on a visit to Agrippa, with the knowledge of some chosen friends, and with one companion, Fabius Maximus; that many tears were shed on both sides, with expressions of affection, and that thus there was a hope of the young man being restored to the home of his grandfather. This, it was said, Maximus had divulged to his wife Marcia, she again to Livia All was known to Cæsar, and when Maximus soon afterwards died, by a death some thought to be self inflicted, there were heard at his funeral wailings from Marcia, in which she reproached herself for having been the cause of her husband's destruction. Whatever the fact was, Tiberius as he was just entering Illyria was summoned home by an urgent letter from his mother, and it has not been thoroughly ascertained whether at the city of Nola he found Augustus still breathing or quite lifeless For Livia had surrounded the house and its approaches with a strict watch, and favourable bulletins were published from time to time, till, provision having been made for the demands of the crisis, one and the same report told men that Augustus was dead and that Tiberius Nero was master of the State

6 The first crime of the new reign was the murder of Postumus Agrippa. Though he was surprised and unarmed, a centurion of the firmest resolution despatched him with difficulty. Tiberius gave no explanation of the matter to the Senate, he pretended that there were directions from his father ordering the tribune in charge of the prisoner not to delay the slaughter of Agrippa, whenever he should himself have breathed his last Beyond a doubt, Augustus had often complained of the young man's character, and had thus succeeded in obtaining the sanction of a decree of the Senate for his banishment But he never was hard hearted enough to destroy any of his kinsfolk, nor was it credible that death was to be the sentence of the grandson in order that the stepson might feel secure It was more probable that Tiberius and Livia, the one from fear, the other from a stepmother's enmity, hurried on the destruction of a youth whom they suspected and hated. When the centurion reported, according to military custom, that he had executed the command, Tiberius replied that he had not given the command, and that the act must be justified to the Senate.

As soon as Sallustius Crispus who shared the secret (he had, in fact, sent the written order to the tribune) knew this, fearing that the charge would be shifted on...

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the secrets of her house or the counsels of friends, or any services performed by the soldiers, nor to let Tiberius weaken the strength of imperial power by referring everything to the Senate, for "the condition," he said, "of holding empire is that an account cannot be balanced unless it be rendered to one person"

[illegible]

neither to betray joy at the decease of one emperor nor sorrow at the rise of another, while he mingled delight and lamentations with his flattery Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, the consuls, were the first to swear allegiance to Tiberius Cæsar, and in their presence the oath was taken by Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius, respectively the commander of the prætorian cohorts and the superintendent of the corn supplies Then the Senate, the soldiers and the people did the same For Tiberius would inaugurate everything with the consuls, as though the ancient constitution remained, and he hesitated about being emperor Even the proclamation by which he summoned the senators to their chamber, he issued merely with the title of Tribune, which he had received under Augustus The wording of the proclamation was brief, and in a very modest tone "He would," it said, "provide for the honours due to his father, and not leave the lifeless body, and this was the only public duty he now claimed"

As soon, however, as Augustus was dead, he had given the watchword to the prætorian cohorts, as commander in-chief He had the guard under arms, with all the other adjuncts of a court, soldiers attended him to the forum, soldiers went with him to the Senate House He sent letters to the different armies, as though supreme power was now his, and showed hesitation only when he spoke in the Senate His chief motive was fear that Germanicus, who had at his disposal so many legions, such vast auxiliary forces of the allies, and such wonderful popularity, might prefer the possession to the expectation of empire He looked also at public opinion, wishing to have the credit of having been called and elected by the State rather than of having crept into power through the intrigues of a wife and a dotard s adoption It was subsequently understood that he assumed a wavering attitude, to test likewise the temper of the nobles For he would twist a word or a look into a crime and treasure it up in his memory.

8 On the first day of the Senate he allowed nothing to be discussed but the funeral of Augustus, whose will, which was brought in by the Vestal Virgins, named as his heirs Tiberius and Livia The latter was to be admitted into the Julian family with the name of Augusta, next in expectation were the grand and great grandchildren In the third place, he had named the chief men of the State, most of whom he hated, simply out of ostentation and to win credit with posterity His legacies were not beyond the scale of a private citizen, except a bequest of forty three million five hundred thousand sesterces "to the people and populace of Rome," of one thousand to every prætorian soldier, and of three hundred to every man in the legionary cohorts composed of Roman citizens

Next followed a deliberation about funeral honours Of these the most imposing were thought fitting The procession was to be conducted through "the gate of triumph," on the motion of Gallus Asinius, the titles of the laws passed, the names of the nations conquered by

[illegible]

only his own discretion, even at the risk of offending This was the only style of adulation which yet remained The Senators unanimously exclaimed that the body ought to be borne on their shoulders to the funeral pile The emperor left the point to them with disdainful moderation, and he then admonished the peo-

[illegible]

On the day of the funeral soldiers stood round as a guard, amid much ridicule from those who had either themselves witnessed or who had heard from their parents of the famous day when slavery was still something fresh, and freedom had been resought in vain, when the slaying of Cæsar, the Dictator, seemed to some the vilest, to others, the most glorious of deeds "Now," they said, "an aged sovereign, whose power had lasted long, who had vided his heirs with abundant means to

the State, requires forsooth the defence of soldiers that his burial may be undisturbed"

9 Then followed much talk about Augustus himself, and many expressed an idle wonder that the same day marked the beginning of his assumption of empire and the close of his life, *and, again that he had ended his days at Nola* in the same house and room as his father Octavius People extolled too the number of his consulships, in which he had *equalled* Valerius Corvus and Caius Marius combined, the continuance for thirty seven years of the tribunitian power the title of Imperator twenty-one times earned, and his other honours which had been either frequently repeated or were wholly new Sensible men, however spoke variously of his life with praise and censure Some said *"that dutiful feeling towards a father and the* necessities of the State in which laws had then no place, drove him into civil war, which can neither be planned nor conducted on any right principles He had often yielded to Antonius, while he was taking vengeance on his father s murderers, often also to Lepidus When the latter sank into feeble dotage and the former had been ruined by his profligacy, the only medy for his distracted country was the rule of a single man Yet the State had been organized under the name neither of a kingdom nor a dictatorship, but under that of a prince The ocean and remote rivers were the boundaries of the *empire the legions, provinces, fleets,* all things were linked together there was law for the citizens there was respect shown to the allies The *capital* had been embellished on a grand scale, only in a few instances had he resorted to force, simply to secure general tranquillity"

10 It was said on the other hand, "that filial duty and State necessity were merely assumed as a mask It was really from a lust of sovereignty that he had excited the veterans by bribery, had, when a young man and a subject, raised an army, tampered with the Consul's legions, and feigned an attachment to the fac*tion of Pompeius Then when by a decree of* the Senate he had usurped the high functions and authority of Prætor, when Hirtius and Pansa were slain—whether they were destroyed by the enemy, or Pansa by poison infused into a wound, Hirtius by his own soldiers and Cæsar's treacherous machinations—he at once possessed himself of both their armies wrested the consulate from a reluctant Senate, and turned against the State the arms with which he had been intrusted against Antonius Citizens were proscribed, lands divided, without so much as the approval of those who executed these deeds Even granting that the deaths of Cassius and of the Bruti were sacrifices to a hereditary enmity (though duty requires us to waive private feuds for the sake of the public welfare), still *Pompeius had been deluded by the phantom of* peace, and Lepidus by the mask of friendship Subsequently, Antonius had been lured on by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by his marriage with the sister, and paid by his death the penalty of a treacherous alliance No doubt, there was peace after all this, but it was a peace stained with blood, there were the disasters of Lollius and Varus, the murders at Rome of the Varros, Egnatii, and Julii"

The domestic life too of Augustus was not *spared "Nero's wife had been taken from him,* and there had been the farce of consulting the pontiffs, whether, with a child conceived and not yet born, she could properly marry There were the excesses of Quintus Tedius and Vedius Pollio, last of all, there was Livia, terrible to the State as a mother, terrible to the house of the Cæsars as a stepmother No honour was left for the gods, when Augustus chose to be himself worshipped with temples and statues, like those of the deities, and with flamens and priests He had not even adopted Tiberius as his successor out of affection or any regard to the State, but, having thoroughly seen his ar*rogant and savage temper, he had sought glory* for himself by a contrast of extreme wickedness' For, in fact, Augustus, a few years before, when he was a second time asking from the Senate the tribunitian power for Tiberius, though his speech was complimentary, had thrown out certain hints as to his manners, style, and habits of life, which he meant as reproaches while he seemed to excuse However, when his obsequies had been duly performed, a temple with a religious ritual was decreed him

11 After this all prayers were addressed to Tiberius He, on his part, urged various con*siderations, the greatness of the empire, his dis*trust of himself "Only,' he said 'the intellect of the Divine Augustus was equal to such a *burden Called as he had been by him to share* his anxieties, he had learnt by experience how exposed to fortune's caprices was the task of universal rule Consequently, in a state which had the support of so many great men, they should not put everything on one man, as many, by uniting their efforts would more easily discharge public functions" There was

more grand sentiment than good faith in such words Tiberius's language even in matters which he did not care to conceal, either from

however, whose only fear was lest they might seem to understand him, burst into complaints, tears, and prayers They raised their hands to the gods, to the statue of Augustus, and to the knees of Tiberius, when he ordered a document to be produced and read This contained a description of the resources of the State, of the number of citizens and allies under arms, of

jealousy

12 Meantime, while the Senate stooped to

cused Then Gallus again, who had inferred anger from his looks, said that the question had not been asked with the intention of dividing what could not be separated, but to convince him by his own admission that the body of the State was one, and must be directed by a single mind He further spoke in praise of Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his victories, and of his admirable deeds for many years as a civilian Still, he did not there *by soften the emperor's resentment, for he had* long been detested from an impression that, as he had married Vipsania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, who had once been the wife of Tiberius, he aspired to be more than a citizen, and kept up the arrogant tone of his father, Asinius Pollio

13 Next, Lucius Arruntius, who differed but little from the speech of Gallus, gave like offence, though Tiberius had no old grudge against him, but simply mistrusted him, be-

would aspire to it without being equal to it,

be given him, sure to make the venture About the two first there is a general agreement, but instead of Arruntius some have mentioned Cneius Piso, and all these men, except Lepidus, were soon afterwards destroyed by various charges through the contrivance of Tiberius Quintus Haterius too and Mamercus Scaurus ruffled his suspicious temper, Haterius by having said—"How long, Cæsar, will you suffer the State to be without a head?" Scaurus by the

broke out into invective against Haterius, Scaurus, with whom he was far more deeply displeased, he passed over in silence Wearied at last by the assembly's clamorous importunity and the urgent demands of individual Senators, he gave way by degrees, not admitting that he undertook empire, but yet ceasing to refuse it and to be entreated It is known that

her very earnest intercessions

14 Great too was the Senate's sycophancy to Augusta Some would have her styled "parent", others "mother of the country," and a *majority proposed that to the name of Cæsar* should be added 'son of Julia' The emperor repeatedly asserted that there must be a limit

and forbade the erection of an altar in memory of her adoption, and any like distinction But

for Germanicus Cæsar he asked pro-consular powers, and envoys were despatched to confer them on him, and also to express sympathy with his grief at the death of Augustus The same request was not made for Drusus, because he [illegible]
Tw [illegible]
ship [illegible]
dow [illegible]
increase it, he bound himself by an oath not to exceed it.

15. It was then first [illegible]
tions w [illegible]
tius to t [illegible]
the most important rested with the emperor [illegible]

only four candidates who were to be nominated without rejection or canvass Meanwhile the tribunes of the people asked leave to exhibit at their own expense games to be named after Augustus and added to the Calendar as the Augustales Money was, however, voted from the exchequer, and though the use of the triumphal robe in the circus was prescribed, it was not allowed them [illegible]

which a mutiny broke out in the legions of Pannonia, which could be traced to no fresh cause except the change of emperors and the prospect it held out of license in tumult and of profit from a civil war In the summer camp [illegible]

duties, either for mourning or rejoicing This was the beginning of demoralization among the troops, of quarreling, of listening to the talk of every pestilent fellow, in short, of craving for luxury and idleness and loathing discipline and toil. In the camp was one Percennius, who had once been a leader of one of the theatrical factions, then became a common soldier, had a saucy tongue, and had learnt from his applause of actors how to stir up a crowd. By working on ignorant minds, which doubted as to what would be the terms of military service after Augustus, this man gradually influenced them in conversations at night or at nightfall, and when the better men had dispersed, he gathered round him all the worst spirits.

17. At last, when there were others ready to be abettors of a mutiny, he asked, in the tone of a demagogue, why, like slaves, they submitted to a few centurions and still fewer tribunes. "When" he [illegible]

[illegible] enough by our tameness for so many years, in having to endure thirty or forty campaigns till we grow old, most of us with bodies maimed by wounds Even dismissal is not the end of our service, but, quartered under a legion's [illegible]

[illegible] and, out of this, clothing, arms, tents, as well as the mercy of centurions and exemptions from duty have to be purchased. But indeed of floggings and wounds, of hard winters, wearisome summers, of terrible war, or barren peace, there is no end Our only relief can come from military life being entered on under fixed conditions, from receiving each the pay of a denarius, and from the sixteenth year terminating our service. We must be retained no longer under a standard, but in the same camp a compensation in money [illegible]
[illegible] still, here amid barbarous tribes we have to face the enemy from our tents"

18 The throng applauded from various motives, some pointing with indignation to the marks of the lash, others to their grey locks, and most of them to their threadbare garments and naked limbs At last, in their fury they went so far as to propose to combine the three legions into one. Driven from their purpose by the jealousy with which every one sought the chief honour for his own legion, they turned to other thoughts, and set up in one spot the three eagles, with the ensigns of the cohorts. At the same time they piled up turf and raised a mound, that they might have a more con-

spicuous meeting place Amid the bustle Blæsus came up He upbraided them and held back man after man with the exclamation, "Better imbrue your hands in my blood· it will be less guilt to slay your commander than it is to be in revolt from the emperor Either living I will uphold the loyalty of the legions, or pierced to the heart I will hasten on your repentance"

19 None the less however was the mound piled up, and it was quite breast high when, at last overcome by his persistency, they gave up their purpose Blæsus, with the consummate tact of an orator, said, "It is not through mutiny and tumult that the desires of the army ought to be communicated to Cæsar, nor did our soldiers of old ever ask so novel a boon of ancient commanders, nor have you yourselves asked it of the Divine Augustus It is far from opportune that the emperor's cares, now in their first beginning, should be aggravated If, however, you are bent upon attempting in peace what even after your victory in the civil wars you did not demand, why, contrary to the habit of obedience, contrary to the law of discipline, do you meditate violence? Decide on sending envoys, and give them instructions in your presence"

It was carried by acclamation that the son of Blæsus, one of the tribunes, should undertake the mission, and demand for the soldiers release from service after sixteen years He was to have the rest of their message when the first part had been successful After the young man's departure there was comparative quiet, but there was an arrogant tone among the soldiers, to whom the fact that their commander's son was pleading their common cause clearly *showed that they had wrested by compulsion* what they had failed to obtain by good behaviour.

20. Meanwhile the companies which previous to the mutiny had been sent to Nauportus to make roads and bridges and for other purposes, when they heard of the tumult in the

was against Aufidienus Rufus, the camp-pre-

long marches. Rufus, who had long been a *common soldier, then a centurion, and subse*quently camp-prefect, tried to revive the old severe discipline, inured as he was to work and toil, and all the sterner because he had endured.

21 On the arrival of these troops the mutiny broke out afresh, and straggling from the camp they plundered the neighbourhood Blæsus ordered a few who had conspicuously loaded themselves with spoil to be scourged and imprisoned as a terror to the rest, for, even as it then was, the commander was still obeyed by the centurions and by all the best men among the soldiers. As the men were dragged off, they struggled violently, clasped the knees of the bystanders, called to their comrades by name, or to the company, cohort, or legion to which they respectively belonged, exclaiming that all were threatened with the same fate At the same time they heaped abuse on the commander;

house, unbound the prisoners, and were in a moment fraternising with deserters and men convicted on capital charges

22 Thence arose a more furious outbreak, with more leaders of the mutiny. Vibulenus, a common soldier, was hoisted in front of the general's tribunal on the shoulders of the bystanders and addressed the excited throng, who eagerly awaited his intentions "You have indeed," he said, "restored light and air to these innocent and most unhappy men, but who restores to my brother his life, or my brother to myself? Sent to you by the German army in

corpse? Even an enemy grudges not burial When, with embraces and tears, I have sated my grief, order me also to be slain, provided only that when we have been destroyed for no crime, but only because we consulted the good of the legions, we may be buried by these men around me"

self at the feet of one man after another, he roused such dismay and indignation that some of the soldiers put fetters on the gladiators who were among the number of Blæsus's others did the like to the rest of his

while a third party hurried out to look for the corpse And had it not quickly been known that no corpse was found, that the slaves, when tortures were applied, denied the murder, and that the man never had a brother, they would have been on the point of destroying the general As it was, they thrust out the tribunes and the camp-prefect, they plundered the baggage of the fugitives, and they killed a centurion, Lucilius, to whom, with soldiers' humour, they had given the name 'Bring another,' because when he had broken one vine stick on a man's back, he would call in a loud voice for another and another The rest sheltered themselves in concealment, and one only was detained, Clemens Julius, whom the soldiers considered a fit person to carry messages, from his ready wit Two legions, the eighth and the fifteenth, were actually drawing swords against each other, the former demanding the death of a centurion, whom they nicknamed Sirpicus, while the men of the fifteenth defended him, but the soldiers of the ninth interposed their entreaties, and when these were disregarded, their menaces

24 This intelligence had such an effect on Tiberius, close as he was, and most careful to hush up every very serious disaster, that he despatched his son Drusus with the leading men of the State and with two prætorian cohorts, without any definite instructions, to take suitable measures The cohorts were strengthened beyond their usual force with some picked troops There was in addition a considerable part of the Prætorian cavalry, and the flower of the German soldiery, which was then the emperor's guard With them too was the commander of the prætorians, Ælius Sejanus, who had been associated with his own father, Strabo, had great influence with Tiberius, and was to advise and direct the young prince, and to hold out punishment or reward to the soldiers When Drusus approached, the legions, as a mark of respect, met him, not as usual, with glad looks or the glitter of military decorations, but in unsightly squalor, and faces which, though they simulated grief, rather expressed defiance.

25 As soon as he entered the entrenchments, they secured the gates with sentries, and ordered bodies of armed men to be in readiness at certain points of the camp The rest crowded round the general's tribunal in a dense mass Drusus stood there, and with a gesture of his hand demanded silence As often as they turned their eyes back on the throng they broke into savage exclamations, then looking up to Drusus they trembled There was a confused hum, a fierce shouting, and a sudden lull Urged by conflicting emotions, they felt panic and they caused the like At last, in an interval of the uproar, Drusus read his father's letter, in which it was fully stated that he had a special care for the brave legions with which he had endured a number of campaigns, that, as soon as his mind had recovered from its grief, he would lay their demands before the Senators, that meanwhile he had sent his son to concede unhesitatingly what could be immediately granted, and that the rest must be reserved for the Senate, which ought to have a voice in showing either favour or severity

26 The crowd replied that they had delivered their instructions to Clemens, one of the centurions, which he was to convey to Rome He began to speak of the soldiers' discharge after sixteen years, of the rewards of completed service, of the daily pay being a denarius, and of the veterans not being detained under a standard When Drusus pleaded in answer reference to the Senate and to his father, he was interrupted by a tumultuous shout "Why had he come, neither to increase the soldiers' pay, nor to alleviate their hardships, in a word, with no power to better their lot? Yet heaven knew that all were allowed to scourge and to execute. Tiberius used formerly in the name of Augustus to frustrate the wishes of the legions, and the same tricks were now revived by Drusus Was it only sons who were to visit them? Certainly, it was a new thing for the emperor to refer to the Senate merely what concerned the soldier's interests Was then the same Senate to be consulted whenever notice was given of an execution or of a battle? Were their rewards to be at the discretion of absolute rulers, their punishments to be without appeal?"

27 At last they deserted the general's tribunal, and to any prætorian soldier or friend of Cæsar's who met them, they used those threatening gestures which are the cause of strife and the beginning of a conflict, with special rage after, as he was leaving with Drusus to betake himself in foresight of his danger to the winter camp, they surrounded him, and asked him again and again whither he was going, was it to the emperor or to the Senate, there also to oppose the interests of the legions At the same moment they menaced him savagely and flung

stones And now, bleeding from a blow, and feeling destruction certain, he was rescued by the hurried arrival of the throng which had accompanied Drusus

28 That terrible night which threatened an explosion of crime was tranquillised by a mere accident Suddenly in a clear sky the moon's radiance seemed to die away This the soldiers [illegible]

should her brightness and splendour be restored to the goddess And so they raised a din with brazen instruments and the combined notes of trumpets and horns, with joy or sorrow, as she brightened or grew dark When clouds arose and obstructed their sight, and it was thought she was buried in the gloom, with that proneness to superstition which steals over minds once thoroughly cowed they lamented that this was a portent of never-ending hardship, and that heaven frowned on their deeds

Drusus, thinking that he ought to avail himself of this change in their temper and turn what chance had offered to a wise account, ordered the tents to be visited Clemens, the centurion was summoned with all others who for their good qualities were liked by the common soldiers These men made their way among the [illegible]

ple? Why are we not rather first in our repentance as we were last in the offence? Demands made in common are granted slowly, a separate favour you may deserve and receive at the same moment"

With minds affected by these words and growing mutually suspicious, they divided off the new troops from the old, and one legion from another Then by degrees the instinct of obedience returned They quitted the gates and restored to their places the standards which at the beginning of the mutiny they had grouped into one spot

29 At daybreak Drusus called them to an assembly, and, though not a practised speaker, yet with natural dignity upbraided them for their past and commended their present behaviour He was not, he said, to be conquered by terror or by threats Were he to see them in [illegible]

Apronius, a Roman knight on Drusus's staff, with Justus Catonius, a first rank centurion, were again sent to Tiberius Then ensued a conflict of opinion among them some maintaining that it was best to wait the envoys' return and meanwhile humour the soldiers, others, that stronger measures ought to be used, inasmuch as the rabble knows no mean and inspires fear, unless they are afraid, though when they have once been overawed, they can be safely despised 'While superstition still swayed them, the general should apply terror by removing the leaders of the mutiny"

Drusus's temper was inclined to harsh measures He summoned Vibulenus and Percennius and ordered them to be put to death The common account is that they were buried in the general s tent, though according to some their bodies were flung outside the entrenchments for all to see

30 Search was then made for all the chief mutineers Some as they roamed outside the camp were cut down by the centurions or by soldiers of the prætorian cohorts Some even the companies gave up in proof of their loyalty The men's troubles were increased by an early winter with continuous storms so violent that they could not go beyond their tents or meet [illegible]

legion returned, the ninth cried again and again that they ought to wait for the letter from Tiberius, but soon finding themselves isolated by the departure of the rest, they voluntarily forestalled their inevitable fate Dru[illegible]

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24 This intelligence had such an effect on *Tiberius, close as he was, and most careful to* hush up every very serious disaster, that he despatched *his son Drusus* with the *leading men* of the State and with two prætorian cohorts, *without any definite instructions*, to take suitable measures The cohorts were strengthened beyond their usual force with some picked troops There was in addition a considerable part of the Prætorian cavalry, and the flower of the German soldiery, which was then the emperor s guard With them too was the commander of the prætorian s, Ælius Sejanus, who had been associated with his own father, Strabo, had great influence with Tiberius and was to advise and direct the young prince, and to hold out punishment or reward to the soldiers When Drusus approached, the legions, as a mark of respect, met him, not as usual with glad looks or the glitter of military decorations, but in unsightly squalor, and faces which, though they simulated grief, rather expressed defiance

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soldiers. These men made their way among the

to those who have earned their discharge? In a word, are they, instead of the Neros and the Drusi, to control the empire of the Roman people? Why are we not rather first in our repentance as we were last in the offence? Demands made in common are granted slowly, a separate favour you may deserve and receive at the same moment"

With minds affected by these words and growing mutually suspicious, they divided off the new troops from the old, and one legion from another Then by degrees the instinct of obedience returned. They quitted the gates and restored to their places the standards which at the beginning of the mutiny they had grouped into one spot

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legion returned, the ninth cried again and again that they ought to wait for the letter from Tiberius, but soon finding themselves isolated by the departure of the rest, they voluntarily forestalled their inevitable fate Drusus, without awaiting the envoys' return, as for the present all was quiet, went back to Rome.

31. About the same time, from the same causes, the legions of Germany rose in mutiny, with a fury proportioned to their greater numbers, in the confident hope that Germanicus Cæsar would not be able to endure another's

supremacy and would offer himself to the legions, whose strength would carry everything before it There were two armies on the bank [illegible]

employed in conducting the assessment of Gaul The troops under the control of Silius, with minds yet in suspense, watched the issue of mutiny elsewhere, but the soldiers of the lower army fell into a frenzy, which had its beginning in the men of the twenty first and fifth legions, and into which the first and twentieth were also drawn For they were all quartered in the same summer-camp, in the ter- [illegible]

habituated to laxity and impatient of hardship, filled the ignorant minds of the other soldiers with notions that the time had come when the veteran might demand a timely discharge, the young, more liberal pay, all, an end of their miseries, and vengeance on the cruelty of centurions

It was not one alone who spoke thus, as did Percennius among the legions of Pannonia, nor was it in the ears of trembling soldiers, who looked with apprehension to other and mightier armies, but there was sedition in many a face and voice "The Roman world," they said, "was in their hand, their victories aggrandised the State, it was from them that emperors received their titles"

32 Nor did their commander check them Indeed, the blind rage of so many had robbed him of his resolution In a sudden frenzy they rushed with drawn swords on the centurions, the immemorial object of the soldiers' resent- [illegible]

spirit, cleared a passage with his sword through the armed and opposing throng Neither tribune nor camp-prefect maintai [illegible] ority any

longer. Patrols, sentries, and whatever else the needs of the time required, were distributed by the men themselves To those who could guess the temper of soldiers with some penetration, the strongest symptom of a wide spread and intractable commotion, was the fact that, instead of being divided or instigated by a few persons, they were unanimous in their fury and equally unanimous in their composure, with so uniform a consistency that one would have [illegible]

ceived news of the death of Augustus He was married to the granddaughter of Augustus, Agrippina, by whom he had several children, [illegible]

uncle and grandmother, the motives for which were the more venomous because unjust For the memory of Drusus was held in honour by the Roman people, and they believed that had he obtained empire, he would have restored freedom Hence they regarded Germanicus with favour and with the same hope. He was indeed a young man of unaspiring temper, and of wonderful kindliness, contrasting strongly with the proud and mysterious reserve that marked the conversation and the features of Tiberius Then, there were feminine jealousies, Livia feeling a stepmother's bitterness towards Agrippina, and Agrippina herself too being rather excitable, only her purity and love of her husband gave a right direction to her otherwise imperious disposition

34 But the nearer Germanicus was to the [illegible]

ground, and seemingly repentant As soon as [illegible]

better as they were. The standards were then to be advanced, so that thus at least the cohorts might be distinguished The soldiers obeyed

reluctantly Then beginning with a reverent mention of Augustus, he passed on to the victories and triumphs of Tiberius, dwelling with especial praise on his glorious achievements with those legions in Germany Next, he extolled the unity of Italy, the loyalty of Gaul, the entire absence of turbulence or strife He was heard in silence or with but a slight murmur

35 As soon as he touched on the mutiny and asked what had become of soldierly obedience, of the glory of ancient discipline, whither they had driven their tribunes and centurions, they all bared their bodies and taunted him with the scars of their wounds and the marks of the lash And then with confused exclamations they spoke bitterly of the prices of exemptions, of their scanty pay, of the severity of their tasks, with special mention of the entrenchment, the fosse, the conveyance of fodder, building timber, firewood, and whatever else had to be procured from necessity, or as a check on idleness in the camp The fiercest clamour arose from the veteran soldiers, who, as they counted their thirty campaigns or more, implored him to relieve worn-out men, and not let them die under the same hardships, but have an end of such harassing service, and repose without beggary Some even claimed the legacy of the Divine Augustus, with words of good omen for Germanicus, and, should he wish for empire, they showed themselves abundantly willing Thereupon, as though he were contracting the pollution of guilt, he leapt impetuously from the tribunal The men opposed his departure with their weapons, threatening him repeatedly if he would not go back But Germanicus protesting that he would die rather than cast off his loyalty, plucked his sword from his side, raised it aloft and was plunging it into his breast, when those nearest him seized his hand and held it by force The remotest and most densely crowded part of the throng, and what almost passes belief, some, who came close up to him, urged him to strike the blow, and a soldier, by name Calusidius offered him a drawn sword, saying that it was sharper than his own Even in their fury, this seemed to them a savage act and one of evil precedent, and there was a pause during which Cæsar's friends hurried him into his tent

36 There they took counsel how to heal matters For news was also brought that the soldiers were preparing the despatch of envoys who were to draw the upper army into their cause, that the capital of the Ubii was marked out for destruction, and that hands with the stain of plunder on them would soon be daring enough for the pillage of Gaul The alarm was heightened by the knowledge that the enemy was aware of the Roman mutiny, and would certainly attack if the Rhine bank were undefended Yet if the auxiliary troops and allies were to be armed against the retiring legions, civil war was in fact begun Severity would be dangerous, profuse liberality would be scandalous Whether all or nothing were conceded to the soldiery, the State was equally in jeopardy

Accordingly, having weighed their plans one against each other, they decided that a letter should be written in the prince's name, to the effect that full discharge was granted to those who had served in twenty campaigns, that there was a conditional release for those who had served sixteen, and that they were to be retained under a standard with immunity from everything except actually keeping off the enemy, that the legacies which they had asked, were to be paid and doubled

37 The soldiers perceived that all this was invented for the occasion, and instantly pressed their demands The discharge from service was quickly arranged by the tribunes Payment was put off till they reached their respective winter quarters The men of the fifth and twenty first legions refused to go till in the summer-camp where they stood the money was made up out of the purses of Germanicus himself and his friends, and paid in full The first and twentieth legions were led back by their officer Cæcina to the canton of the Ubii, marching in disgrace, since sums of money which had been extorted from the general were carried among the eagles and standards Germanicus went to the Upper Army, and the second, thirteenth, and sixteenth legions, without any delay, accepted from him the oath of allegiance The fourteenth hesitated a little but their money and the discharge were offered even without their demanding it.

38 Meanwhile there was an outbreak among the Chauci, begun by some veterans of the mutinous legions on garrison duty They were quelled for a time by the instant execution of two soldiers Such was the order of Mennius the camp-prefect, more as a salutary warning than as a legal act Then, when the commotion increased, he fled and having been discovered, as his hiding place was now unsafe, he borrowed a resource from audacity "It was not," he told them, "the camp-prefect, it was Germanicus, their general it was Tiberius, their emperor, whom they were insulting" At the same m

ment, overawing all resistance, he seized the standard, faced round towards the river bank, and exclaiming that whoever left the ranks, he would hold as a deserter, he led them back into their winter-quarters, disaffected indeed, but cowed

39 Meanwhile envoys from the Senate had an intervi

quarters In the bewilderment of terror and conscious guilt they were penetrated by an apprehension that persons had come at the Senate's orders to cancel the concessions they had extorted by mutiny And as it is the way with a mob to fix any charge, however groundless, on some particular person, they reproached Manatius Plancus, an ex-consul and the chief envoy, with being the author of the Senate's decree. At midnight they began to demand the imperial standard kept in Germanicus's quarters, and having rushed together to the entrance, burst the door, dragged Cæsar from his bed, and forced him by menaces of death to give up the standard Then roaming through the camp-streets, they met the envoys, who on hearing of the tumult were hastening to Germanicus. They loaded them with insults, and were on the point of murdering them, Plancus especially, whose high rank had deterred him from flight In his peril he found safety only in the camp of the first legion There clasping the standards and the eagle, he sought to protect himself under their sanctity. And had not the eagle bearer, Calpurnius, saved him from the worst violence, the blood of an envoy of the Roman people, an occurrence rare even among our foes, would in a Roman camp have stained the altars of the gods

At last, with the light of day, when the general and the soldiers and the whole affair were clearly recognised, Germanicus entered the camp, ordered Plancus to be cond

envoys arrival. On the rights of ambassadors, on the dreadful and undeserved peril of

cus for not going to the Upper Army, where he might find obedience and help against the rebels "Enough and more than enough blunders," they said, "had been made by granting discharges

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a pregnant wife among madmen who outraged every human right? Let these, at least, be restored safely to their grandsire and to the State."

When his wife spurned the notion, protesting that she was a descendant of the Divine Augustus and could face peril with no degenerate spirit, he at last embraced her and the son of their love with many tears, and after long delay compelled her to depart Slowly moved along a pit

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Could they be going to the Treveri, to be subjects of the foreigner?" Then they felt shame and pity, and remembered his father Agrippa, her grandfather Augustus

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legions used to call in soldiers fashion, Caligula, because he often wore the shoe so called, to win the men's goodwill But nothing moved them so much as jealousy towards the Treveri They entreated, stopped the way, that Agrippina might return and remain, some running to meet her

the throng around him—

42. "Neither wife nor son are dearer to me than my father and the State. But he will surely have the protection of his own majesty, the empire of Rome that of our other armies My wife

that whatever wickedness is thereby threatened, may be expiated by my blood only, and that you may not be made more guilty by the slaughter of a great grandson of Augustus, and the murder of a daughter in law of Tiberius For what have you not dared, what have you not profaned during these days? What name shall I give to this gathering? Am I to call you soldiers, you who have beset with entrenchments and arms your general's son, or citizens, when you have trampled under foot the authority of the Senate? Even the rights of public enemies, the sacred character of the ambassador, and the law of nations have been violated by you The Divine Julius once quelled an army's mutiny with a single word by calling those who were renouncing their military obedience 'citizens' The Divine Augustus cowed the legions who had fought at Actium with one look of his face Though I am not yet what they were, still, descended as I am from them, it would be a strange and unworthy thing should I be spurned by the soldiery of Spain or Syria First and twentieth legions, you who received your standards from Tiberius you, men of the twentieth who have shared with me so many battles and have been enriched with so many rewards, is not this a fine gratitude with which you are repaying your general? Are these the tidings which I shall have to carry to my father when he hears only joyful intelligence from our other provinces, that his own recruits his own veterans are not satisfied with discharge or pay, that here only centurions are murdered, tribunes driven away, envoys imprisoned, camps and rivers stained with blood while I am myself dragging on a precarious existence amid those who hate me?

43 'Why, on the first day of our meeting, why did you, my friends, wrest from me, in your blindness, the steel which I was preparing to plunge into my breast? Better and more loving was the act of the man who offered me the sword At any rate I should have perished before I was as yet conscious of all the disgraces of my army, while you would have chosen a general who though he might allow my death to pass unpunished would avenge the death of Varus and his three legions Never indeed may heaven suffer the Belgae, though they proffer their aid, to have the glory and honour of having rescued the name of Rome and quelled the tribes of Germany It is thy spirit, Divine Augustus, now received into heaven, thine image, father Drusus, and the remembrance of thee, which, with these same soldiers who are now stimulated by shame and ambition, should wipe out this blot and turn the wrath of civil strife to the destruction of the foe You too, in whose faces and in whose hearts I perceive a change, if only you restore to the Senate their envoys, to the emperor his due allegiance, to myself my wife and son do you stand aloof from pollution and separate the mutinous from among you This will be a pledge of your repentance, a guarantee of your loyalty '

44 Thereupon, as suppliants confessing that his reproaches were true, they implored him to punish the guilty pardon those who had erred, and lead them against the enemy And he was to recall his wife, to let the nursling of the legions return and not be handed over as a hostage to the Gauls As to Agrippina's return, he made the excuse of her approaching confinement and of winter His son, he said, would come, and the rest they might settle themselves. Away they hurried hither and thither, altered men and dragged the chief mutineers in chains to Caius Cætronius, commander of the first legion, who tried and punished them one by one in the following fashion In front of the throng stood the legions with drawn swords Each accused man was on a raised platform and was pointed out by a tribune If they shouted out that he was guilty he was thrown headlong and cut to pieces The soldiers gloated over the bloodshed as though it gave them absolution Nor did Cæsar check them, seeing that without any order from himself the same men were responsible for all the cruelty and all the odium of the deed

The example was followed by the veterans, who were soon afterwards sent into Rætia, nominally to defend the province against a threatened invasion of the Suevi, but really that they might tear themselves from a camp stamped with the horror of a dreadful remedy no less than with the memory of guilt Then the general revised the list of centurions Each, at his summons stated his name, his rank, his birth place, the number of his campaigns, what brave deeds he had done in battle, his military rewards, if any If the tribunes and the legion commended his energy and good behaviour, he retained his rank, where they unanimously charged him with rapacity or cruelty, he was dismissed the service

45 Quiet being thus restored for the present, a no less formidable difficulty remained through the turbulence of the fifth and twenty first legions, who were in winter quarters sixty miles away at Old Camp, as the place

called These, in fact, had been the first to begin the mutiny, and the most atrocious deeds had been committed by their hands Unawed by the punishment of their comrades, and unmoved by their contrition they still retained their re sentment Cæsar accordingly proposed to send an armed fleet with some of our allies down the Rhine, resolved to make war on them should they reject his authority

46 At Rome, meanwhile, when the result of affairs in Illyrium was not yet known, and men had heard of the commotion among the Ger man legions, the citizens in alarm reproached Tiberius for the hypocritical irresolution with which he was befooling the senate and the people, feeble and disarmed as they were, while the soldiery were all the time in revolt, and could not be quelled by the yet imperfectly matured

ness of age on him, so often visit Germany, and is Tiberius, in the vigour of life, to sit in the Senate and criticise its members words? He had taken good care that there should be slavery at Rome, he should now apply some soothing medicine to the spirit of soldiers, that they might be willing to endure peace

47 Notwithstanding these remonstrances, it was the inflexible purpose of Tiberius not to quit the head quarters of empire or to imperil himself and the State Indeed many conflicting thoughts troubled him The army in Germany was the stronger, that in Pannonia the nearer, the first was supported by all the strength of Gaul, the latter menaced Italy Which was he to prefer, without the fear that those whom he slighted would be infuriated by the affront? But his sons might alike visit both, and not compromise the imperial dignity, which inspired the greatest awe at a distance There was also an excuse for mere youths referring some matters to their father, with the possibility that he could conciliate or crush those who resisted Germani cus or Drusus What resource remained, if they despised the emperor? However, as if on the eve of departure, he selected his attendants, provided his camp-equipage, and prepared a fleet, then winter and matters of business were the various pretexts with which he amused, first, sensible men, then the populace, last, and long est of all, the provinces

48 Germanicus meantime, though he had

with the late warning before them, regard their safety He sent a despatch to Cæcina, which said that he was on the way with a strong force, and that, unless they forestalled his arrival by the execution of the guilty, he would resort to an indiscriminate massacre Cæcina read the letter confidentially to the eagle and standard bearers and to all in the camp who were least

its of a man's case are carefully weighed, when war bursts on us, innocent and guilty alike per ish"

Upon this, they sounded those whom they thought best for their purpose, and when they saw that a majority of their legions remained loyal, at the commander's suggestion they fixed a time for falling with the sword on all the vilest and foremost of the mutineers Then, at a mutually given signal, they rushed into the tents, and butchered the unsuspecting men, none but those in the secret knowing what was the beginning or what was to be the end of the slaughter

49 The scene was a contrast to all civil wars which have ever occurred It was not in battle, it was not from opposing camps, it was from those same dwellings where day saw them at their common meals night resting from labour, that they divided themselves into two factions, and showered on each other their missiles Uproar, wounds bloodshed, were everywhere visi ble, the cause was a mystery All else was at the disposal of chance Even some loyal men were slain, for, on its being once understood who were the objects of fury, some of the worst mutineers too had seized on weapons Neither commander nor tribune was present to control them the men were allowed license and venge ance to their heart s content Soon afterwards Germanicus entered the camp, and exclaim ing with a flood of tears, that this was destruc tion rather than remedy, ordered the bodies to be burnt

Even then their savage spirit was seized with a desire to march against the enemy, as an atone ment for their frenzy, and it was felt that the shades of their fellow soldiers could be appeased only by exposing such impious breasts to honourable scars Cæsar followed up the en thusiasm of the men, and having bridged over the Rhine, he sent across it 12,000 from the

legions, with six and twenty allied cohorts, and eight squadrons of cavalry, whose discipline had been without a stain during the mutiny

50 There was exultation among the Germans, not far off, as long as we were detained by the public mourning for the loss of Augustus, and then by our dissensions. But the Roman general in a forced march, cut through the Cæsian forest and the barrier which had been begun by Tiberius, and pitched his camp on this barrier, his front and rear being defended by intrenchments, his flanks by timber barricades He then penetrated some forest passes but little known, and, as there were two routes, he deliberated whether he should pursue the short and ordinary route, or that which was more difficult and unexplored, and consequently unguarded by the enemy He chose the longer way, and hurried on every remaining preparation, for his scouts had brought word that among the Germans it was a night of festivity, with games, and one of their grand banquets Cæcina had orders to advance with some light cohorts, and to clear away any obstructions from the woods The legions followed at a moderate interval They were helped by a night of bright starlight, reached the villages of the Marsi, and threw their pickets round the enemy, who even then were stretched on beds or at their tables, without the least fear, or any sentries before their camp, so complete was their carelessness and disorder, and of war indeed there was no apprehension Peace it certainly was not—merely the languid and heedless ease of half intoxicated people

51 Cæsar, to spread devastation more widely, divided his eager legions into four columns, and ravaged a space of fifty miles with fire and sword Neither sex nor age moved his compassion Everything, sacred or profane, the temple too of Tamfana, as they called it, the special resort of all those tribes, was levelled to the ground There was not a wound among our soldiers, who cut down a half asleep, an unarmed, or a straggling foe The Bructeri Tubantes, and Usipetes, were roused by this slaughter, and they beset the forest passes through which the army had to return The general knew this, and he marched, prepared both to advance and to fight Part of the cavalry, and some of the auxiliary cohorts led the van, then came the first legion, and, with the baggage in the centre, the men of the twenty first closed up the left, those of the fifth, the right flank The twentieth legion secured the rear, and, next, were the rest of the allies

Meanwhile the enemy moved not till the army began to defile in column through the woods, then made slight skirmishing attacks on its flanks and van, and with his whole force charged the rear The light cohorts were thrown into confusion by the dense masses of the Germans, when Cæsar rode up to the men of the twentieth legion, and in a loud voice exclaimed that this was the time for wiping out the mutiny 'Advance," he said, "and hasten to turn your guilt into glory" This fired their courage, and at a single dash they broke through the enemy, and drove him back with great slaughter into the open country At the same moment the troops of the van emerged from the woods and intrenched a camp After this their march was uninterrupted, and the soldiery, with the confidence of recent success, and forgetful of the past, were placed in winter quarters

52 The news was a source of joy and also of anxiety to Tiberius. He rejoiced that the mutiny was crushed, but the fact that Germanicus had won the soldiers' favour by lavishing money, and promptly granting the discharge, as well as his fame as a soldier, annoyed him Still, he brought his achievements under the notice of the Senate, and spoke much of his greatness in language elaborated for effect, more so than could be believed to come from his inmost heart He bestowed a briefer praise on Drusus, and on the termination of the disturbance in Illyricum, but he was more earnest, and his speech more hearty And he confirmed, too, in the armies of Pannonia all the concessions of Germanicus

53 That same year Julia ended her days For her profligacy she had formerly been confined by her father Augustus in the island of Pandateria, and then in the town of the Regini on the shores of the straits of Sicily She had been the wife of Tiberius while Caius and Lucius Cæsar were in their glory, and had disdained him as an unequal match This was Tiberius's special reason for retiring to Rhodes When he obtained the empire, he left her in banishment and disgrace, deprived of all hope after the murder of Postumus Agrippa, and let her perish by a lingering death of destitution, with the idea that an obscurity would hang over her end from the length of her exile He had a like motive for cruel vengeance on Sempronius Gracchus, a man of noble family, of shrewd understanding, and a perverse eloquence, who had seduced this same Julia when she was the wife of Marcus Agrippa And this was not end of the intrigue When she had been ha

over to Tiberius, her persistent paramour inflamed her with disobedience and hatred towards her husband, and a letter which Julia wrote to her father, Augustus, inveighing against Tiberius, was supposed to be the composition of Gracchus He was accordingly banished to Cercina, where he endured an exile of fourteen years Then the soldiers who were sent to slay him, found him on a promontory, expecting no good On their arrival, he begged a brief interval in which to give by letter his last instructions to his wife Alliaria, and then offered his neck to the executioners, dying with a courage not unworthy of the Sempronian name, which his degenerate life had dishonoured Some have related that these soldiers were not sent from Rome, but by Lucius Asprenas, proconsul of Africa, on the authority of Tiberius, who had vainly hoped that the infamy of the murder might be shifted on Asprenas

54 The same year witnessed the establishment of religious ceremonies in a new priesthood of the brotherhood of the Augustales, just as in former days Titus Tatius, to retain the rites of the Sabines, had instituted the Titian brotherhood Twenty-one were chosen by lot from the chief men of the State, Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius and Germanicus, were added to the number The Augustal games which were then inaugurated, were disturbed by quarrels arising out of rivalry between the actors Augustus had shown indulgence to the entertainment by way of humouring Mæcenas's extravagant passion for Bathyllus, nor did he himself dislike such amusements, and he thought it citizenlike to mingle in the pleasures of the populace Very different was the tendency of Tiberius's character But a people so many years indulgently treated, he did not yet venture to put under harsher control

55 In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, Germanicus had a triumph decreed him, though war still lasted And though it was for the summer campaign that he was most vigorously preparing, he anticipated it by a sudden inroad on the Chatti in the beginning of spring There had, in fact, sprung up a hope of the enemy being divided between Arminius and Segestes, famous, respectively for treachery and loyalty towards us Arminius was the disturber of Germany Segestes often revealed the fact that a rebellion was being organized, more especially at that last banquet after which they rushed to arms, and he urged Varus to arrest himself and Arminius and all the other chiefs, assuring him that the people would attempt nothing if the leading men were removed, and that he would then have an opportunity of sifting accusations and distinguishing the innocent But Varus fell by fate and by the sword of Arminius, with whom Segestes, though dragged into war by the unanimous voice of the nation, continued to be at feud, his resentment being heightened by personal motives, as Arminius had carried off his daughter who was betrothed to another With a son in law detested, and fathers in law also at enmity, what are bonds of love between united hearts became with bitter foes incentives to fury

56 Germanicus accordingly gave Cæcina four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, with some hastily raised levies from the Germans dwelling on the left bank of the Rhine He was himself at the head of an equal number of legions and twice as many allies Having established a fort on the site of his father's entrenchments on Mount Taunus he hurried his troops in quick marching order against the Chatti, leaving Lucius Apronius to direct works connected with roads and bridges With a dry season and comparatively shallow streams, a rare circumstance in that climate, he had accomplished, without obstruction, a rapid march, and he feared for his return heavy rains and swollen rivers But so suddenly did he come on the Chatti that all the helpless from age or sex were at once captured or slaughtered Their able bodied men had swum across the river Adrana, and were trying to keep back the Romans as they were commencing a bridge Subsequently they were driven back by missiles and arrows, and having in vain attempted negotiations for peace, some took refuge with Germanicus, while the rest, leaving their cantons and villages dispersed themselves in their forests

After burning Mattium, the capital of the tribe, and ravaging the open country, Germanicus marched back towards the Rhine, the enemy not daring to harass the rear of the retiring army, which was his usual practice whenever he fell back by way of stratagem rather than from panic It had been the intention of the Cherusci to help the Chatti, but Cæcina thoroughly cowed them, carrying his arms everywhere, and the Marsi who ventured to engage him, he repulsed in a successful battle

57 Not long after envoys came from Segestes, imploring aid against the violence of his fellow-countrymen, by whom he was hemmed in, and with whom Arminius had greater influence, because he counselled war For with barbarians, the more eager a man s daring, the

more does he inspire confidence, and the more highly is he esteemed in times of revolution With the envoys Segestes had associated his [illegible]

[illegible] had rent the sacred garlands, and fled to the rebels Induced, however, to hope for mercy from Rome he brought his father's message, he was graciously received and sent with an escort to the Gallic bank of the Rhine

It was now worth while for Germanicus to march back his army A battle was fought against the besiegers and Segestes was rescued with a numerous band of kinsfolk and dependents In the number were some women of rank, among them, the wife of Arminius, who was *also the daughter of Segestes, but who exhibited* the spirit of her husband rather than of her father, subdued neither to tears nor to the tones of a suppliant, her hands tightly clasped within her bosom, and eyes which dwelt on her hope of offspring The spoils also taken in the defeat of Varus were brought in, having been given as plunder to many of those who were then being surrendered

[illegible]

*the Divine Augustus gave me the citizenship*, I have chosen my friends and foes with an eye to your advantage, not from hatred of my fatherland (*for traitors are detested* even by those whom they prefer) but because I held that Romans and Germans have the same interests, and that peace is better than war And therefore I denounced to Varus, who then commanded your army, Arminius, the ravisher of my daugh [illegible]

What followed may be deplored rather than defended However, I threw Arminius into chains and I endured to have them put on myself by his partisans And as soon as you give me opportunity, I show my preference for the old over [illegible]

rather than ruin For the youth and error of my son I entreat forgiveness As for my daughter, I admit that it is by compulsion she has been brought here It will be for you to consider which fact weighs most with you, that she is with child by Arminius or that she owes her being to me'

Cæsar in a gracious reply promised safety to his children and kinsfolk and a home for himself in the old province He then led back the army and received on the proposal of Tiberius the title of Imperator The wife of Arminius gave birth to a male child, the boy, who was brought up at Ravenna, soon afterwards suffered an insult, which at the proper time I shall relate

[illegible]

his naturally furious temper, was driven to frenzy by the seizure of his wife and the foredooming to slavery of his wife's unborn child He flew hither and thither among the Cherusci, demanding "war against Segestes, war against Cæsar" And he refrained not from taunts "Noble the father," he would say, "mighty the general, brave the army which, with such strength, has carried off one weak woman Before me, three legions, three commanders have fallen Not by treachery, not against pregnant women, [illegible]

their ignorance of Roman rule, have no experience of punishments, know nothing of tributes, and, as we have shaken them off, as the great [illegible]

sent Cæcina through the Bructeri to the river Amisia with forty Roman cohorts to distract the enemy, while the cavalry was led by its commander Pedo by the territories of the Frisii Germanicus himself put four legions on shipboard and conveyed them through the lakes, and the infantry, cavalry, and fleet met simultaneously at the river already mentioned The Chauci on promising aid, were associated with us in military fellowship Lucius Stertinius was despatched by Germanicus with a flying column and routed the Bructeri as they were burning their possessions and amid the carnage and plunder, found the eagle of the nineteenth legion which had been lost with Varus The troops were then marched to the furthest frontier of the Bructeri, and all the country between the rivers Amisia and Luppia was ravaged, not far from the forest of Teutoburgium, where the remains of Varus and his legions were said to lie unburied

61 Germanicus upon this was seized with an eager longing to pay the last honour to those soldiers and their general, while the whole army present was moved to compassion by the thought of their kinsfolk and friends, and, indeed, of the calamities of wars and the lot of mankind Having sent on Cæcina in advance to reconnoitre the obscure forest passes, and to raise bridges and causeways over watery swamps and treacherous plains, they visited the mournful scenes, with their horrible sights and associations Varus's first camp with its wide circumference and the measurements of its central space clearly indicated the handiwork of three legions Further on, the partially fallen rampart and the shallow fosse suggested the inference that it was a shattered remnant of the army which had there taken up a position In the centre of the field were the whitening bones of men, as they had fled or stood their ground, strewn everywhere or piled in heaps Near, lay fragments of weapons and limbs of horses, and also human heads, prominently nailed to trunks of trees In the adjacent groves were the barbarous altars, on which they had immolated tribunes and first rank centurions Some survivors of the disaster who had escaped from the battle or from captivity, described how this was the spot where the officers fell, how yonder the eagles were captured, where Varus was pierced by his first wound, where too by the stroke of his own ill starred hand he found for himself death They pointed out too the raised ground from which Arminius had harangued his army, the number of gibbets for the captives, the pits for the living, and how in his exultation he insulted the standards and eagles

62. And so the Roman army now on the spot, six years after the disaster, in grief and anger, began to bury the bones of the three legions, not a soldier knowing whether he was interring the relics of a relative or a stranger, but looking on all as kinsfolk and of their own blood, while their wrath rose higher than ever against the foe In raising the barrow Cæsar laid the first sod, rendering thus a most welcome honour to the dead, and sharing also in the sorrow of those present This Tiberius did not approve, either interpreting unfavourably every act of Germanicus, or because he thought that the spectacle of the slain and unburied made the army slow to fight and more afraid of the enemy, and that a general invested with the augurate and its very ancient ceremonies ought not to have polluted himself with funeral rites

63 Germanicus, however, pursued Arminius as he fell back into trackless wilds, and as soon as he had the opportunity, ordered his cavalry to sally forth and scour the plains occupied by the enemy Arminius having bidden his men to concentrate themselves and keep close to the woods, suddenly wheeled round, and soon gave those whom he had concealed in the forest passes the signal to rush to the attack Thereupon our cavalry was thrown into disorder by this new force, and some cohorts in reserve were sent, which broken by the shock of flying troops, increased the panic They were being pushed into a swamp, well known to the victorious assailants, perilous to men unacquainted with it, when Cæsar led forth his legions in battle array This struck terror into the enemy and gave confidence to our men, and they separated without advantage to either

Soon afterwards Germanicus led back his army to the Amisia, taking his legions by the fleet, as he had brought them up Part of the cavalry was ordered to make for the Rhine along the sea-coast Cæcina, who commanded a division of his own, was advised, though he was returning by a route which he knew, to pass Long Bridges with all possible speed This was a narrow road amid vast swamps, which had formerly been constructed by Lucius Domitius, on every side were quagmires of thick clinging mud, or perilous with streams Around were woods on a gradual slope, which Arminius now completely occupied, as soon as by a short route and quick march he had outstripped troops heavily laden with baggage and arms As Cæcina was in doubt how he could possibly

replace bridges which were ruinous from age, and at the same time hold back the enemy, he resolved to encamp on the spot, that some might begin the repair and others the attack

64. The barbarians attempted to break through the outposts and to throw themselves on the engineering parties, which they harassed, pacing round them and continually charging them There was a confused din from the men at work and the combatants Everything alike was unfavourable to the Romans, the place with its deep swamps, insecure to the foot and slippery as one advanced, limbs burdened with coats of mail, and the impossibility of aiming their javelins amid the water The Cherusci, on the other hand, were familiar with fighting in fens, they had huge frames, and lances long enough to inflict wounds even at a distance Night at last released the legions, which were now wavering, from a disastrous engagement. The Germans whom success rendered unwearied, without even then taking any rest, turned all the streams which rose from the slopes of the surrounding hills into the lands beneath The ground being thus flooded and the completed portion of our works submerged, the soldiers' labour was doubled

This was Cæcina's fortieth campaign as a subordinate or a commander, and, with such experience of success and peril, he was perfectly fearless As he thought over future possibilities, he could devise no plan but to keep the enemy within the woods, till the wounded and the more encumbered troops were in advance. For between the hills and the swamps there stretched a plain which would admit of an extended line The legions had their assigned places, the fifth on the right wing, the twenty-first on the left, the men of the first to lead the van, the twentieth to repel pursuers

65 It was a restless night for different reasons, the barbarians in their festivity filling the valleys under the hills and the echoing glens with merry song or savage shouts, while in the Roman camp were flickering fires, broken exclamations, and the men lay scattered along the intrenchments or wandered from tent to tent, wakeful rather than watchful A ghastly dream appalled the general He seemed to see Quintilius Varus, covered with blood, rising out of the swamps, and to hear him, as it were, calling to him, but he did not, as he imagined, obey the call, he even repelled his hand, as he stretched it over him At daybreak the legions, posted on the wings, from panic or perversity, deserted their position and hastily occupied a plain beyond the morass. Yet Arminius, though free to attack, did not at the moment rush out on them But when the baggage was clogged in the mud and in the fosses, the soldiers around it in disorder, the array of the standards in confusion, every one in selfish haste and all ears deaf to the word of command, he ordered the Germans to charge, exclaiming again and again, "Behold a Varus and legions once more entangled in Varus's fate" As he spoke, he cut through the column with some picked men, inflicting wounds chiefly on the horses Staggering in their blood on the slippery marsh, they shook off their riders, driving hither and thither all in their way, and trampling on the fallen The struggle was hottest round the eagles, which could neither be carried in the face of the storm of missiles, nor planted in the miry soil Cæcina, while he was keeping up the battle, fell from his horse, which was pierced under him, and was being hemmed in, when the first legion threw itself in the way. The greed of the foe helped him, for they left the slaughter to secure the spoil, and the legions, towards evening, struggled on to open and firm ground

Nor did this end their miseries Entrenchments had to be thrown up, materials sought for earthworks, while the army had lost to a great extent their implements for digging earth and cutting turf There were no tents for the rank and file, no comforts for the wounded As they shared their food, soiled by mire or blood, they bewailed the darkness with its awful omen, and the one day which yet remained to so many thousand men

66 It chanced that a horse, which had broken its halter and wandered wildly in fright at the uproar, overthrew some men against whom it dashed Thence arose such a panic, from the belief that the Germans had burst into the camp, that all rushed to the gates Of these the decuman gate was the point chiefly sought, as it was furthest from the enemy and safer for flight Cæcina, having ascertained that the alarm was groundless, yet being unable to stop or stay the soldiers by authority or entreaties or even by force, threw himself to the earth in the gateway, and at last by an appeal to their pity, as they would have had to pass over the body of their commander, closed the way At the same moment the tribunes and the centurions convinced them that it was a false alarm

67 Having then assembled them at his headquarters, and ordered them to hear his words in silence, he reminded them of the urgency of the crisis. "Their safety," he said, "lay in

arms, which they must, however, use with discretion, and they must remain within the entrenchments, till the enemy approached closer, in the hope of storming them, then there must be a general sortie, by that sortie the Rhine might be reached Whereas if they fled, more forests, deeper swamps, and a savage foe awaited them but if they were victorious, glory and renown would be theirs He dwelt on all that was dear to them at home, all that testified to their honour in the camp, without any allusion to disaster Next he handed over the horses, beginning with his own of the officers and tribunes, to the bravest fighters in the army, quite impartially, that these first, and then the infantry, might charge the enemy

68 There was as much restlessness in the German host with its hopes, its eager longings, and the conflicting opinions of its chiefs Arminius advised that they should allow the Romans to quit their position and, when they had quitted it, again surprise them in swampy and intricate ground Inguiomerus with fiercer counsels, heartily welcome to barbarians, was for beleaguering the entrenchment in armed array, as to storm them would he said, be easy, and there would be more prisoners and the booty unspoilt So at daybreak they trampled in the fosses, flung hurdles into them, seized the upper part of the breastwork, where the troops were thinly distributed and seemingly paralysed by fear When they were fairly within the fortifications, the signal was given to the cohorts, and the horns and trumpets sounded Instantly, with a shout and sudden rush, our men threw themselves on the German rear, with taunts, that here were no woods or swamps, but that they were on equal ground with equal chances The sound of trumpets, the gleam of arms which were so unexpected, burst with all the greater effect on the enemy, thinking only, as they were, of the easy destruction of a few half armed men, and they were struck down, as unprepared for a reverse as they had been elated by success Arminius and Inguiomerus fled from the battle, the first unhurt, the other [illegible]

indeed, in their victory

69 Meanwhile a rumour had spread that our army was cut off, and that a furious German host was marching on Gaul And had not Agrippina prevented the bridge over the Rhine from being destroyed, some in their cowardice would have dared that base act A woman of heroic [illegible]

extremity of the bridge, and bestowed praise and thanks on the returning legions This made a deep impression on the mind of Tiberius "Such zeal," he thought, "could not be guileless, it was not against a foreign foe that she was thus courting the soldiers Generals had nothing left them when a woman went among the companies, attended the standards, ventured on bribery, as though it showed but slight ambition to parade her son in a common soldier's uniform, and wish him to be called Cæsar [illegible]

and aggravated by Sejanus, who, with his thorough comprehension of the character of Tiberius, sowed for a distant future hatreds which the emperor might treasure up and [illegible]

teenth to Publius Vitellius, to be marched by land so that the fleet might sail more easily over a sea full of shoals, or take the ground more lightly at the ebb-tide Vitellius at first pursued his route without interruption, having a dry shore, or the waves coming in gently After a while, through the force of the north wind and the equinoctial season, when the sea swells to its highest, his army was driven and tossed hither and thither The country too was flooded, sea, shore, fields presented one aspect, nor could the treacherous quicksands be distinguished from solid ground or shallows from deep water Men were swept away by the waves [illegible]

coward, the prudent from the careless, forethought from chance, the same strong power swept everything before it At last Vitellius

struggled out to higher ground and led his men up to it There they passed the night, without necessary food, without fire, many of them with bare or bruised limbs, in a plight as pitiable as that of men besieged by an enemy For such, at least, have the opportunity of a glorious death, while here was destruction without honour Daylight restored land to their sight, and they pushed their way to the river Visurgis, where Cæsar had arrived with the fleet The legions then embarked, while a rumour was flying about that they were drowned Nor was there a belief in their safety till they saw Cæsar and the army returned

71 By this time Stertinius, who had been despatched to receive the surrender of Segimerus,

son with some hesitation, because it was said *that he had insulted the corpse of Quintilius* Varus Meanwhile Gaul, Spain, and Italy vied in repairing the losses of the army, offering whatever they had at hand, arms, horses, gold Germanicus having praised their zeal, took only for the war their arms and horses and relieved the soldiers out of his own purse And

soldier, examined their wounds, raised the hopes of one, the ambition of another, and the spirits of all by his encouragement and interest, thus strengthening their ardour for himself and for battle

72 That year triumphal honours were decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, Caius Silius for their achievements under Germanicus The title of 'father of his country," which the people had so often thrust on him, Tiberius refused, nor would he allow obedience to be sworn to his enactments, though the Senate voted it, for he said repeatedly that all human things were uncertain, and that the more he

treason, the name of which indeed was known in ancient times, though other matters came under its jurisdiction, such as the betrayal of an army, or seditious stirring up of the people, or, in short, any corrupt act by which a man had impaired "the majesty of the people of Rome" Deeds only were liable to accusation, words went unpunished It was Augustus who first, under colour of this law, applied legal inquiry

to libellous writings, provoked, as he had been, by the licentious freedom with which Cassius Severus had defamed men and women of distinction in his insulting satires Soon afterwards, Tiberius, when consulted by Pompeius Macer, the prætor, as to whether prosecutions for treason should be revived, replied that the laws must be enforced He too had been exasperated by the publication of verses of uncer

knights of moderate fortune, the first experiments at such accusations, in order to explain

*burst into flame and consumed everything* Against Falanius it was alleged by his accuser *that he had admitted among the votaries of Augustus*, who in every great house were associated into a kind of brotherhood, one Cassius, a buffoon of infamous life, and that he had also in selling his gardens included in the sale a statue of Augustus Against Rubrius the charge was that he had violated by perjury the divinity of Augustus When this was known to Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls "that his father had not had a place in heaven decreed to him, that the honour might be turned to the destruction of the citizens Cassius, the actor, with men of the same profession, used to take part in the games which had been consecrated by his mother to the memory of Augustus Nor was it contrary to the religion of the State for the

by his quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus, and the *charge was supported by Romanus Hispo* Crispinus then entered on a line of life afterwards rendered notorious by the miseries of the age

and brought ruin first on others,

themselves He alleged against Marcellus that he had made some disrespectful remarks about Tiberius, a charge not to be evaded, inasmuch as the accuser selected the worst features of the emperor s character and grounded his case on them The things were true, and so were believed to have been said

Hispo added that Marcellus had placed his own statue above those of the Cæsars, and had set the bust of Tiberius on another statue from

claimed that in such a case he would himself

to follow, if last I fear that I may differ from you unwillingly Tiberius was deeply moved, and repenting of the outburst, all the more because of its thoughtlessness he quietly allowed the accused to be acquitted of the charges of treason As for the question of extortion, it was referred to a special commission

75 Not satisfied with judicial proceedings in the Senate, the emperor would sit at one end of the Prætor s tribunal, but so as not to displace him from the official seat Many decisions were given in his presence, in opposition to improper influence and the solicitations of great men This, though it promoted justice ruined freedom Pius Aurelius, for example, a senator,

tors of the treasury, but the emperor helped him, and paid him the value of his house, for he liked to spend money on a good purpose, a virtue which he long retained, when he cast off all others To Propertius Celer, an ex prætor,

tempted the same, prove their case to the Senate, as from his love of strictness he was harsh even where he acted on right grounds Consequently every one else preferred silence and poverty to confession and relief

76 In the same year the Tiber, swollen by

the devising of means to confine the river was intrusted to Ateius Capito and Lucius Arruntius

Achaia and Macedonia, on complaining of their burdens, were, it was decided, to be relieved for a time from proconsular government and to be transferred to the emperor Drusus presided over a show of gladiators which he gave in his own name and in that of his brother Germanicus, for he gloated intensely over bloodshed, however cheap its victims This was alarming to the populace, and his father had it was said, rebuked him Why Tiberius kept away from the spectacle was variously explained According to some, it was his loathing of a crowd, according to others, his gloomy temper, and a fear of contrast with the

broke out with worse violence and some soldiers and a centurion besides several of the populace, were killed, and the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while they were trying to stop insults to the magistrates and the strife of the mob This disturbance was the subject of a debate in the Senate, and opinions were expressed in favour of the prætors having authority to scourge actors Haterius Agrippa tribune of the people interposed his veto and

cause Augustus had once pronounced that actors were exempt from the scourge, and it was not lawful for Tiberius to infringe his decisions Many enactments were passed to fix the amount of their pay and to check the disorderly behaviour of their partisans Of these the chief were that no Senator should enter the house of a pantomime player, that Roman knights should not crowd round them in the public streets that they should exhibit themselves only in the theatre and that the prætors should be empowered to punish with banishment any riotous conduct in the spectators

78 A request from the Spaniards that they might erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Tarraco was granted, and a precedent thus

given for all the provinces When the people of Rome asked for a remission of the one per cent. tax on all saleable commodities, Tiberius declared by edict "that the military exchequer depended on that branch of revenue, and, further, that the State was unequal to the burden, unless the twentieth year of service were to be that of the veteran's discharge" Thus the ill advised results of the late mutiny, by which a limit of sixteen campaigns had been extorted, were cancelled for the future

79 A question was then raised in the Senate by Arruntius and Ateius whether, in order to restrain the inundations of the Tiber, the rivers and lakes which swell its waters should be diverted from their courses A hearing was given to embassies from the municipal towns and *colonies, and the people of Florentia begged* that the Clanis might not be turned out of its channel and made to flow into the Arnus, as

"as it would burst in a flood on the entire neighbourhood Nature had admirably provided for human interests in having assigned to rivers their mouths, their channels, and their limits, as well as their sources Regard, too, must be paid to the different religions of the allies, who

ficulty of the work or superstitious motives prevailed, and they yielded to Piso s opinion, who

military commands and to keep many men to the end of their life with the same armies and in the same administrations Various motives have been assigned for this Some say that, out of aversion to any fresh anxiety, he retained what he had once approved as a permanent arrangement, others, that he grudged to see many enjoying promotion Some, again, think that though he had an acute intellect, his judgment was irresolute, for he did not seek out eminent merit, and yet he detested vice. From the best

to leave Rome

81. I can hardly venture on any positive statement about the consular elections, now held for the first time under this emperor, or, indeed, subsequently, so conflicting are the accounts we find not only in historians but in Tiberius' own speeches Sometimes he kept back the names of the candidates, describing their origin, their life and military career, so that it might be understood who they were Occasionally even these hints were withheld, and, after *urging them not to disturb the elections by canvassing*, he would promise his own help towards the result Generally he declared that only those had offered themselves to him as candidates whose names he had given to the consuls, and that others might offer themselves if they had confidence in their influence or merit A plausible profession this in words but really unmeaning and delusive, and the greater the disguise of freedom which marked it, the more cruel the enslavement into which it was soon to plunge us

## BOOK II, A D. 16–19

1 IN THE consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo there was a commotion in the

of his countrymen

ing sought a king from another world, one too infected with the training of the enemy, at the throne of the Arsacids now being possessed and given away among the provinces of Rome "Where," they asked, "was the glory of the men who slew Crassus, who drove out Antonius if Cæsar's drudge, after an endurance of so many years' slavery, were to rule over Parthians"

Vonones himself too further provoked their disdain, by his contrast with their ancestral manners, by his rare indulgence in the chase, by his feeble interest in horses, by the litter in which he was carried whenever he made a progress through their cities, and by his contemptuous dislike of their national festivities They also ridiculed his Greek attendants and his keeping under seal the commonest household articles But he was easy of approach, his courtesy was open to all, and he had thus virtues with which the Parthians were unfamiliar, and vices new to them And as his ways were quite alien from theirs they hated alike what was bad and what was good in him

3 Accordingly they summoned Artabanus, an Arsacid by blood, who had grown to manhood among the Dahae, and who, though routed in the first encounter, rallied his forces and possessed himself of the kingdom The conquered Vonones found a refuge in Armenia, then a free country, and exposed to the power of Parthia and Rome, without being trusted by either, in consequence of the crime of Antonius, who, under the guise of friendship, had inveigled Artavasdes king of [illegible] ...tory found defence for himself and his kingdom in the might of the Arsacids When he was slain by the treachery of kinsmen, Cæsar gave Tigranes to the Armenians, and he was put in possession of the kingdom under the escort of Tiberius Nero But neither Tigranes nor his children reigned long, though, in foreign fashion, they were united in marriage and in royal power.

4 Next, at the bidding of Augustus, Artavasdes was set on the throne, nor was he deposed without disaster to ourselves Caius Cæsar was then appointed to restore order in Armenia He put over the Armenians Ariobarzanes, a Mede by birth, whom they willingly accepted, because of his singularly handsome person and noble spirit. On the death of Ariobarzanes through a fatal accident, they would not [illegible] his son Having tried the government of a woman named Erato and having soon afterwards driven her from them, bewildered and disorganised, rather indeed without a ruler than enjoying freedom, they received for their king the fugitive Vonones When, however, Artabanus began to threaten [illegible] ...yria, Creticus Silanus, sent for him and kept him under surveillance, letting him retain his royal pomp and title How Vonones meditated an escape from this mockery, I will relate in the proper place

5 Mea[illegible] rathe[illegible] for w[illegible] which [illegible], and placing him over new provinces where he would be exposed both to treachery and to disasters Germanicus, however, in proportion to the strength of the soldiers' attachment and to his uncle's dislike, was eager to hasten his victory, and he pondered on plans of battle, and on the reverses or successes which during more than three years of war had fallen to his lot The Germans, he knew, were beaten in the field and on fair ground, they were helped by woods, swamps, short summers, and early winters His own troops were affected not so much by wounds as by long marches and damage to their arms Gaul had been exhausted by supplying horses, a long baggage train presented facilities for ambuscades, and was embarrassing to its defenders But by embarking on the sea, invasion would be easy for them, and a surprise to the enem[illegible] paign [illegible] gio[illegible] tan[illegible] their horses wou[illegible] ...ive, in good condition, by the river-mouths and channels, at the heart of Germany

6 To this accordingly he gave his mind, and sent Publius Vitellius and Caius Antius to collect the taxes of Gaul Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina had the charge of building a fleet It seemed that a thousand vessels were required, and they were speedily constructed, some of small draught with a narrow stem and stern and a broad centre, that they might bear the waves more easily, some flat bottomed [illegible] they might [illegible] era[illegible] by [illegible] run[illegible] in [illegible] for missiles [illegible] conveyed, and were also fit for

the carrying of horses or supplies, and being equipped with sails as well as rapidly moved by oars, they assumed, through the enthusiasm of our soldiers, an imposing and formidable aspect,

[illegible]

tory begins, into two rivers, retaining its name and the rapidity of its course in the stream which washes Germany, till it mingles with the ocean On the Gallic bank, its flow is broad er and gentler; it is called by an altered name, *the Vahal, by the inhabitants of its shore Soon* that name too is changed for the Mosa river, through whose vast mouth it empties itself into the same ocean

7. Cæsar, however, while the vessels were coming up, ordered Silius, his lieutenant general, to make an inroad on the Chatti with a flying column He himself, on hearing that a fort on the river Luppia was being besieged, led six legions to the spot Silius owing to sudden rains did nothing but carry off a small booty, and the wife and daughter of Arpus, the chief of the Chatti And Cæsar had no opportunity of fighting given him by the besiegers, who dispersed on the rumour of his advance They had, however, destroyed the barrow lately raised in memory of Varus's legions, and the old altar of Drusus The prince restored the altar, and himself with his legions celebrated funeral games in his father's honour To raise a new barrow was not thought necessary All the country between the *fort Aliso and the Rhine was thoroughly se*cured by new barriers and earthworks.

8 By this time the fleet had arrived, and Cæsar, having sent on his supplies and assigned vessels for the legions and the allied troops, entered "Drusus's fosse," as it was called He prayed Drusus his father to lend him, now that he was venturing on the same enterprise, the willing and favourable aid of the example and memory of his counsels and achievements, and he arrived after a prosperous voyage through the lakes and the ocean as far as the river Amisia His fleet remained there on the left bank of the stream, and it was a blunder that he did not have it brought up the river. He disembarked the troops, which were to be marched to the country on the right, and thus several days were wasted in the construction of bridges The cavalry and the legions fearlessly crossed the first estuaries in which the tide had not yet risen The rear of the auxiliaries, and the Batavi among the number, plunging recklessly into the water and displaying their skill in swim-

[illegible]

cavalry and a light armed force, who punished their perfidy with fire and sword.

9 The waters of the Visurgis flowed between the Romans and the Cherusci On its banks stood Arminius with the other chiefs He asked whether Cæsar had arrived, and on the reply that he was present, he begged leave to have an interview with his brother That brother, sur-

[illegible]

was in command The permission was then

[illegible]

away, Arminius asked his brother whence came the scar which disfigured his face, and on being told the particular place and battle, he inquired what reward he had received Flavus spoke of increased pay, of a neck chain, a crown, and other military gifts, while Arminius jeered

[illegible]

vanquished, the ready mercy for him who surrenders, and the fact that neither Arminius's wife nor his son were treated as enemies, the other, of the claims of fatherland, of ancestral

[illegible]

in Roman speech, for he had served in our camp as leader of his fellow-countrymen

11. Next day the German army took up its position on the other side of the Visurgis

sar, thinking that without bridges and troops to guard them, it would not be good general ship to expose the legions to danger, sent the cavalry across the river by the fords It was com manded by Stertinius and Aemilius, one of the first rank centurions, who attacked at widely different points so as to distract the enemy

tance Chariovalda after long sustaining the enemy's fury, cheered on his men to break by a dense formation the onset of their bands, while he himself, plunging into the thickest of the

their own strength, or by the cavalry which came up with Stertinius and Aemilius

12 Cæsar on crossing the Visurgis learnt by the information of a deserter that Arminius had chosen a battle field, that other tribes too had assembled in a forest sacred to Hercules, and *would venture on a night attack on his camp* He put faith in this intelligence, and, besides, several watchfires were seen Scouts also who had crept close up to the enemy, reported that they had heard the neighing of horses and the

be accomplished with a genuine result Trib unes and centurions, he knew, oftener reported what was welcome than what was true, freed men had slavish spirits, friends a love of flattery If an assembly were called, there too the lead of a few was followed by the shout of the many He must probe their inmost thoughts, when they were uttering their hopes and fears at the military mess, among themselves, and un watched

ness of his temper, whether he was jesting or was serious, while they acknowledged that they ought to repay him with their gratitude in battle, and at the same time sacrifice to a glori

the name of Arminius to all deserters wives and lands with daily pay of a hundred sesterces as

carry off their wives We hail the omen, we mean the women and riches of the enemy to be our spoil " About midday there was a skirmish ing attack on our camp, without any discharge of missiles when they saw the cohorts in close

and forest passes, if science be used For the

managed as our javelins and swords and close fitting armour Shower your blows thickly strike at the face with your swords points The German has neither cuirass nor helmet, even his shield is not strengthened with leather or steel, but is of osiers woven together or of thin and painted board If their first line is armed with spears, the rest have only weapons hard ened by fire or very short Again, though their frames are terrible to the eye and formidable in a brief onset, they have no capacity of enduring wounds, without any shame at the disgrace,

desire an end of service, this battle prepares the way to it The Elbe is now nearer than the Rhine, and there is no war beyond, provided only you enable me, keeping close as I do to my father's and my uncle's footsteps, to stand a con-

queror on the same spot."

clansmen to witness that "these Romans were the most cowardly fugitives out of Varus's army, men who rather than endure war had taken to mutiny Half of them have their backs covered with wounds, half are once again exposing limbs battered by waves and storms to a foe full of fury, and to hostile deities, with no hope of advantage. They have, in fact, had recourse to a fleet and to a trackless ocean, that their coming might be unopposed, their flight unpursued But when once they have joined conflict with us, the help of winds or oars will be unavailing to the vanquished Remember only their greed, their cruelty, their pride Is anything left for us but to retain our freedom or to die before we are enslaved?"

16 When they were thus roused and were demanding battle, their chiefs led them down into a plain named Idistavisus It winds between the Visurgis and a hill range, its breadth varying as the river banks recede or the spurs of the hills project on it In their rear rose a forest, with the branches rising to a great height, while there were clear spaces between the trunks The barbarian army occupied the plain and the outskirts of the wood The Cherusci were posted by themselves on the high ground, so as to rush down on the Romans during the battle

Our army advanced in the following order The auxiliary Gauls and Germans were in the van, then the foot archers, after them, four legions and Cæsar himself with two prætorian cohorts and some picked cavalry Next came as many other legions, and light armed troops with horse bowmen, and the remaining cohorts of the allies The men were quite ready and prepared to form in line of battle according to their marching order

17 Cæsar, as soon as he saw the Cheruscan bands which in their impetuous spirit had rushed to the attack, ordered the finest of his cavalry to charge them in flank, Stertinius with the other squadrons to make a détour and fall on their rear, promising himself to come up in good time Meanwhile there was a most encouraging augury Eight eagles, seen to fly towards the woods and to enter them, caught the general's eye "Go," he exclaimed, "follow the Roman birds, the true deities of our legions" At the same moment the infantry charged, and the cavalry which had been sent on in advance dashed on the rear and the flanks And, strange to relate, two columns of the enemy fled in opposite directions, that, which had occupied the wood, *rushing into the open, those who had* been drawn up on the plains, into the wood The Cherusci, who were between them, were dislodged from the hills, while Arminius, conspicuous among them by gesture, voice, and a wound he had received, kept up the fight He had thrown himself on our archers and was on the point of breaking through them, when the cohorts of the Raeti, Vendelici, and Gauls faced his attack By a strong bodily effort, however, and a furious rush of his horse, he made his way through them, having smeared his face with his

age or treachery The rest were cut down in every direction Many in attempting to swim

ing themselves in the boughs, archers were brought up and they were shot for sport Others were dashed to the ground by the felling of the trees

there were found amid the plunder the chains which the Germans had brought with them for the Romans, as though the issue were certain The soldiers on the battle field hailed Tiberius as Imperator, and raised a mound on which arms were piled in the style of a trophy, with the names of the conquered tribes inscribed beneath them

19 That sight caused keener grief and rage

a broad earthwork, as a boundary between themselves and the Cherusci. Here their

try was ranged Their cavalry they concealed in neighbouring woods, so as to be on the legions' rear, as soon as they entered the forest

20. All this was known to Cæsar. He was acquainted with their plans, their positions, with what met the eye, and what was hidden, and he prepared to turn the enemy's stratagems to their own destruction To Seius Tubero, his chief officer, he assigned the cavalry and the plain His infantry he drew up so that part might advance on level ground into the forest, and part clamber up the earthwork which confronted them He charged himself with what was the specially difficult operation, leaving the rest to his officers Those who had the level ground *easily forced a passage Those who had to as*sault the earthwork encountered heavy blows from above, as if they were scaling a wall The

enemy. Spears were hurled from the engines, and the more conspicuous were the defenders of the position, the more the wounds with which they were driven from it Cæsar with some prætorian cohorts was the first, after the storming of the ramparts, to dash into the woods There they fought at close quarters A morass was in the enemy's rear, and the Romans were hemmed in by the river or by the hills Both were in a desperate plight from their position, valour was their only hope, victory their only safety

21 The Germans were equally brave, but they were beaten by the nature of the fighting and of the weapons, for their vast host in so confined a space could neither thrust out nor recover their immense lances, or avail themselves of their nimble movements and lithe frames, forced as they were to a close engagement Our soldiers, on the other hand, with their shields pressed to their breasts, and their hands grasping their sword hilts, struck at the huge limbs and exposed faces of the barbarians, cutting a passage through the slaughtered enemy, for Arminius was now less active, either from incessant perils, or because he was partially disabled by his recent wound As for Inguiomerus, who flew hither and thither over the battle field, it was fortune rather than courage which

proud inscription, "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, after thoroughly conquering the tribes between the Rhine and the Elbe, has dedicated this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus" He

*hastened to surrender. And, as suppliants, by* refusing nothing, they obtained a full pardon.

23 When, however, summer was at its height, some of the legions were sent back overland in to winter quarters, but most of them Cæsar put on board the fleet and brought down the river Amisia to the ocean At first the calm waters merely sounded with the oars of a thousand vessels or were ruffled by the sailing ships Soon, a hailstorm bursting from a black mass of clouds, while the waves rolled hither and thither under tempestuous gales from every quarter, rendered clear sight impossible, and the steering difficult, while our soldiers, terrorstricken and without any experience of disasters on the sea, by embarrassing the sailors or giving them clumsy aid, neutralized the services of the skilled crews After a while, wind and wave shifted wholly to the south, and from the hilly lands and deep rivers of Germany came, with a huge line of rolling clouds, a strong blast, all the more frightful from the frozen north which was so near to them, and instantly caught and drove the ships hither and thither into the open ocean, or on

hold to their anchors or bale out the water which rushed in upon them Horses, beasts of burden, baggage, were thrown overboard, in order to lighten the hulls which leaked copiously through their sides, while the waves too dashed over them

24. As the ocean is stormier than all other seas, and as Germany is conspicuous for the terrors of its climate, so in novelty and extent did this disaster transcend every other, for all around were hostile coasts, or an expanse so vast and deep that it is thought to be the remotest shoreless sea Some of the vessels were swal-

*lowed up, many were wrecked on distant is-*

reme alone reached the country of the Chauci Day and night, on those rocks and promontories he would incessantly exclaim that he was himself responsible for this awful ruin, and friends scarce restrained him from seeking death in the same sea

At last, as the tide ebbed and the wind blew favourably, the shattered vessels with but few rowers, or clothing spread as sails, some towed by the more powerful, returned, and Germani

whom they had ransomed from the inland tribes Some had been carried to Britain and were sent back by the petty chiefs Every one, as he re turned from some far distant region, told of

seen or in their terror believed

25 Meanwhile the rumoured loss of the fleet stirred the Germans to hope for war, as it did Cæsar to hold them down He ordered Caius Silius with thirty thousand infantry and three

advanced into the country, laying it waste, and utterly ruining a foe who dared not encounter him, or who was instantly defeated wherever

having lost their arms, after strewing the shores with the carcases of horses and of men, they had rushed to the attack with the same courage, with equal spirit, and, seemingly, with aug mented numbers

26. *The soldiers were then* led back into win ter-quarters, rejoicing in their hearts at having *been compensated for their disasters at sea by a* successful expedition They were helped too by Cæsar's bounty, which made good whatever loss any one declared he had suffered It was also

cus to return for the triumph decreed him "He had now had enough of success, enough of dis aster He had fought victorious battles on a great scale, he should also remember those losses which the winds and waves had inflicted, and

than by arms By this means the submission of the Sugambri had been secured, and the Suevi with their king Maroboduus had been forced

was to discharge in person He also added that if war must still be waged, he might as well leave some materials for renown to his brother Drusus, who, as there was then no other enemy, could win only in Germany the imperial title and the triumphal laurel Germanicus hesitated no longer, though he saw that this was a pre tence, and that *he was hurried away through* jealousy from the glory he had already acquired

27 About the same time Libo Drusus, of the

since then first were originated those practices which for so many years have eaten into the heart of the State Firmius Catus, a senator, an *intimate friend of Libo's, prompted the young* man, who was thoughtless and an easy prey to delusions, to resort to astrologers' promises,

barrassments, thereby to entangle him

more proofs of guilt.

28 As soon as he found enough witnesses, [illegible]

Vescularius, a Roman knight, who was more intimate with Tiberius than himself Cæsar, without disregarding the information, declined an interview, for the communication, he said, [illegible]

to know all his sayings and doings, though it was in his power to stop them, till one Junius, who had been tampered with by Libo for the purpose of evoking by incantations spirits of the dead, [illegible]

pounced on the accused, went to the consuls, and demanded an inquiry before the Senate The Senators were summoned, with a special notice that they must consult on a momentous and terrible matter

29 Libo meanwhile, in mourning apparel and accompanied by ladies of the highest rank, went to house after house, entreating his relatives, and imploring some eloquent voice to ward off his perils, which all refused, on different pretexts, but from the same apprehension On the day the Senate met, jaded with fear and mental anguish, or, as some have related, feigning illness, he was carried in a litter to the doors of the Senate House, and leaning on his brother he raised his hands and voice in supplication to Tiberius, who received him with unmoved countenance The emperor then read out the charges and the accusers' names, with such calmness as not to seem to soften or aggravate the accusations.

[illegible]

ius, as they would not yield one to the other, and Libo had entered without counsel, offered to state the charges against him singly, and produced an extravagantly absurd accusation, according to which Libo had consulted persons whether he would have such wealth as to be able to cover the Appian road as far as Brundisium with money. There were other questions of the same sort, quite senseless and idle; if [illegible]

torture. As an ancient statute of the Senate for- [illegible]

day, and having gone home he charged his kinsman, Publius Quirinus, with his last prayer to the emperor

31 The answer was that he should address himself to the Senate Meanwhile his house was [illegible]

drove him from the very banquet he had pre [illegible]

as they shrank back, they overturned the lamp on the table at his side, and in the darkness, [illegible]

cusers, and prætorships out of the usual order were conferred on those who were of senators' rank Cotta Messalinus then proposed that Libo's bust should not be carried in the funeral procession of any of his descendants, and Cneius Lentulus, that no Scribonius should assume the surname of Drusus Days of public thanksgiving were appointed on the suggestion of Pomponius Flaccus Offerings were given to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, and the 13th day of September, on which Libo had killed himself, was to be observed as a festival, on the motion of Gallus Asinius, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius I have mentioned the proposals and sycophancy of these men, in order to bring to light this old standing evil in the State.

Decrees of the Senate were also passed to expel from Italy astrologers and magicians One

of their number, Lucius Pituanius, was hurled *from the Rock.* Another, Publius Marcius, was executed, according to ancient custom, by the consuls outside the Esquiline Gate, after the trumpets had been bidden to sound

33 On the next day of the Senate's meeting much was said against the luxury of the country by Quintus Haterius, an ex-consul, and by Octavius Fronto, an ex prætor It was decided [illegible]

restrictions being put on plate, furniture, and household establishments It was indeed still usual with the Senators, when it was their turn to vote, to suggest anything they thought for the State's advantage Gallus Asinius argued on the other side "With the growth of the empire private wealth too," he said, 'had increased, and there was nothing new in this, but it accorded *with the fashions of the earliest antiquity.* Riches were one thing with the Fabricii, quite another with the Scipios The State was the standard of everything, when it was poor, the homes of the citizens were humble, when it reached such magnificence, private grandeur increased In household establishments, and plate, and in whatever was provided for use, there was neither excess nor parsimony except in relation to the fortune of the possessor A distinction had been made in the assessments of Senators and knights, not because they differed naturally, but that the superiority of the one class in [illegible]

were to undergo more anxieties and more dangers, and to be at the same time deprived of all *solace under those anxieties and dangers* " Gallus gained a ready assent, under these specious phrases, by a confession of failings with which his audience symphathised And Tiberius too had added that this was not a time for censorship, and that if there were any declension in manners, a promoter of reform would not be wanting

34 During this debate Lucius Piso, after exclaiming against the corruption of the courts, the bribery of judges, the cruel threats of accusations from hired orators, declared that he would depart and quit the capital, and that he meant to live in some obscure and distant rural retreat At the same moment he rose to leave the Senate House. Tiberius was much excited, and though he pacified Piso with gentle words, he also strongly urged his relatives to stop his departure by their influence or their entreaties [illegible]

in her litter to the emperor's house, nor did Piso [illegible]

forth from the palace, having ordered soldiers to follow him at a distance He was seen, as the people thronged about him, to wear a calm face, while he prolonged his time on the way with various conversations, till at last when Piso's relatives tried in vain to restrain him, Augusta directed the money which was claimed to be *handed to him This ended the affair, and Piso,* in consequence, was not dishonoured, and the emperor rose in reputation Urgulania's influ [illegible]

according to ancient custom, were heard in the courts, before judges, whenever they gave evidence

35 I should say nothing of the adjournment of public business in this year, if it were not [illegible]

influx from the provinces ought to be reserved for his presence Tiberius listened to this in silence, and the matter was debated on both sides in a *sharp controversy. The business, however,* was adjourned

[illegible]

before receiving a prætorship discharged this military service should at once become prætors-elect, the emperor nominating twelve candidates every year It was quite evident that this motion had a deeper meaning and was an attempt to explore the secrets of imperial policy Tiberius, however, argued as if his power would be thus increased 'It would," he said, 'be trying to his moderation to have to elect so many and to put off so many He scarcely avoided giving offence from year to year, even though a candidate's rejection was solaced by the near prospect of office What hatred would be incurred from those whose election was deferred for five years! How could he foresee through so long an interval what would be a man's temper, or domestic relations, or estate? Men became arrogant even with this annual appointment What would happen if their thoughts were fixed on promotion for five years? It was in fact a *multiplying of the magistrates five fold*, and a subversion of the laws which had prescribed proper periods for the exercise of the candidate's activity and the seeking or *securing office*' With this seemingly conciliatory speech he retained the substance of power

37 He also increased the *incomes* of some of the Senators Hence it was the more surprising that he listened somewhat disdainfully to the request of Marcus Hortalus, a youth of noble rank in conspicuous poverty He was the grandson *of the orator Hortensius and had been induced* by Augustus, on the strength of a gift of a million sesterces, to marry and rear children, that one of our most illustrious families might not become extinct Accordingly, with his four sons standing at the doors of the Senate House the Senate then sitting in the palace when it was his turn to speak he began to address them as follows, his eyes fixed now on the statue of Hortensius which stood among those of the orators, now on that of Augustus — Senators these whose numbers and boyish years you behold I have reared, not by my own choice but because the emperor advised me At the same time, my ancestors deserved to have descendants For myself, not having been able in these altered times to receive or acquire wealth or popular favour, or that eloquence which has been the hereditary possession of our house, I was satisfied if my narrow means were neither a disgrace to myself nor a burden to others At the emperor's bidding I married Behold the offspring and progeny of a succession of consuls and dictators Not to excite odium do I recall such facts but to win compassion While you prosper, Cæsar, they will attain such promotion as you shall bestow Meanwhile save from penury the great grandsons of Quintus Hortensius, the foster-children of Augustus"

38 *The Senate's favourable bias was an incitement* to Tiberius to offer prompt opposition, which he did in nearly these words —' If all poor men begin to come here and to beg money for their children, individuals will never be satisfied, and the State will be bankrupt Certainly our ancestors did not grant the privilege of occasionally proposing amendments or of suggesting, in our turn for speaking, something for the general advantage in order that we might in this house increase our private business and property, thereby bringing odium on the Senate and on emperors whether they concede or refuse their bounty In fact, it is not a request, but an importunity, as utterly unreasonable as it is unforeseen, for a senator, when the house *has met on other matters, to rise from his place* and, pleading the number and age of his children, put a pressure on the delicacy of the Senate then transfer the same constraint to myself and, as it were, break open the exchequer, which, if we exhaust it by improper favouritism, will have to be replenished by crimes Money was given you Hortalus, by Augustus, but without solicitation and not on the condition of its being always given Otherwise industry will languish and idleness be encouraged, if a man has nothing to fear, nothing to hope from himself, and every one, in utter recklessness, will expect relief from others, thus becoming useless to himself and a burden to me '

These and like remarks, though listened to with assent by those who make it a practice to eulogise everything coming from sovereigns, both good and bad, were received by the majority in silence or with suppressed murmurs Tiberius perceived it, and having paused a while, said that he had given Hortalus his answer, but that if the senators thought it right, he would bestow two hundred thousand sesterces on each of his children of the male sex The others thanked him, Hortalus said nothing either from alarm or because even in his reduced fortunes he clung to his hereditary nobility Nor did Tiberius afterwards show any pity, though the house of Hortensius sank into shameful poverty

39 That same year the daring of a single slave, had it not been promptly checked, would have ruined the State by discord and *civil war* A servant of Postumus Agrippa, Clemens by name, having ascertained that Augustus was

dead, formed a design beyond a slave's conception, of going to the island of Planasia and seizing Agrippa by craft or force and bringing him to the armies of Germany The slowness of a merchant vessel thwarted his bold venture Meanwhile the murder of Agrippa had been perpetrated, and then turning his thoughts to a greater and more hazardous enterprise, he [illegible]

his secret it was rumoured that Agrippa was alive, first in whispered gossip, soon as is usual with forbidden topics, in vague talk which found its way to the credulous ears of the most ignorant people or of restless and revolutionary schemers He himself went to the towns as the day grew dark, without letting himself be seen publicly or remaining long in the same places, but, as he knew that truth gains strength by notoriety and time, falsehood by precipitancy and vagueness he would either withdraw himself from publicity or else forestall it

[illegible]

the centre of interest to a vast concourse as well as to secret gatherings in the capital, while Tiberius was distracted by the doubt whether he should crush this slave of his by military force or allow time to dissipate a silly credulity Sometimes he thought that he must overlook nothing, sometimes that he need not be afraid of everything, his mind fluctuating between shame and terror At last he entrusted the affair to Sallustius Crispus, who chose two of his dependants (some say they were soldiers) and [illegible]

[illegible] him to the palace When Tiberius asked him how he had become Agrippa he is said to have replied, "As you became Cæsar" He could not be forced to divulge his accomplices Tiberius did not venture on a public execution, but ordered him to be slain in a private part of [illegible]

him with their counsels, no inquiry was made

41 At the close of the year was consecrated an arch near the temple of Saturn to commemorate the recovery of the standards lost with [illegible]

the dictator, bequeathed to the Roman people, a chapel to the Julian family, and statues at Bovillæ to the Divine Augustus

In the consulship of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius Germanicus Cæsar, on the 26th day of May, celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci Chatti and Angrivarii, and the other tribes which extend as far as the Elbe There were borne in procession spoils, prisoners representations of the mountains the rivers and battles and the war, seeing that he had been forbidden to finish it, was taken as finished [illegible]

Still, there was a latent dread when they remembered how unfortunate in the case of Drusus, his father, had been the favour of the crowd how his uncle Marcellus regarded by the city populace with passionate enthusiasm had been snatched from them while yet a youth, and how short lived and ill starred were the attachments of the Roman people

42 Tiberius meanwhile in the name of Germanicus gave every one of the city populace three hundred sesterces, and nominated himself his colleague in the consulship Still failing to obtain credit for sincere affection he re[illegible]

on such as chance presented

King Archelaus had been in possession of Cappadocia for fifty years, and Tiberius hated him because he had not shown him any mark [illegible]

Tiberius acquired the empire, he enticed Archelaus by a letter from his mother, who without concealing her son s displeasure promised mercy if he would come to beg for it Archelaus either quite unsuspicious of treachery, [illegible] ing compulsion, should it be thought [illegible] saw through it, hastened to Rome Th[illegible]

received by a pitiless emperor, and soon afterwards was arraigned before the Senate In his anguish and in the weariness of old age, and

During the same time, on the deaths of Antiochus and Philopator, kings respectively of the Commageni and Cilicians, these nations became excited, a majority desiring the Roman rule, some, that of their kings The provinces

already related, before the Senate "The commotions in the East," he said, "could be quieted only by the wisdom of Germanicus, his own life was on the decline, and Drusus had not yet reached his maturity" Thereupon, by a decree of the Senate, the provinces beyond sea were entrusted to Germanicus, with greater powers wherever he went than were given to those who obtained their provinces by lot or by the emperor's appointment

Tiberius had however removed from Syria Creticus Silanus, who was connected by a close tie with Germanicus, his daughter being betrothed to Nero, the eldest of Germanicus's

his father Piso, who in the civil war supported with the most energetic aid against Cæsar the reviving faction in Africa, then embraced the cause of Brutus and Cassius, and, when suffered to return, refrained from seeking promotion till he was actually solicited to accept a consulship offered by Augustus But beside the father's haughty temper there was also the noble rank and wealth of his wife Plancina, to inflame his ambition He would hardly be the inferior of Tiberius, and as for Tiberius's children, he looked down on them as far beneath him He thought it a certainty that he had been chosen to govern Syria in order to thwart the aspirations of Germanicus Some believed that he had even received secret instructions from Tiberius, and it was beyond a question that Augusta, with feminine jealousy, had suggested to Plancina calumnious insinuations against Agrippina For there was division and discord in the court, with unexpressed partialities towards either Drusus or Germanicus Tiberius favoured Drusus, as his own son and born of his own blood As for Germanicus, his uncle's estrangement had increased the affection which all others felt for him, and there was the fact too that he had an advantage in the illustrious rank of his mother's family, among whom he could point to his grandfather Marcus Antonius and to his great uncle Augustus Drusus, on the other hand, had for his great grandfather a Roman knight, Pomponius Atticus, who seemed to disgrace the ancestral images of the Claudii Again, the consort of Germanicus, Agrippina, in number of children and in character, was superior to Livia, the wife of Drusus Yet the brothers were singularly united, and were wholly unaffected by the rivalries of their kinsfolk

44 Soon afterwards Drusus was sent into Illyricum to be familiarised with military service, and to win the goodwill of the army Tiberius also thought that it was better for the young prince, who was being demoralised by the luxury of the capital, to serve in a camp, while he felt himself the safer with both his sons in command of legions However, he made a pretext of the Suevi, who were imploring help against the Cherusci For when the Romans had departed and they were free from the fear of an invader, these tribes, according to the custom of the race, and then specially as rivals in fame, had turned their arms against

their allies, the old soldiers of Arminius, who

have had an overwhelming superiority, had not Inguiomerus deserted with a troop of his dependants to Maroboduus, simply for the reason that the aged uncle scorned to obey a brother's youthful son The armies were drawn up, with equal confidence on both sides, and there were not those desultory attacks or irregular bands, formerly so common with the Germans Prolonged warfare against us had accustomed them to keep close to their standards, to have the support of reserves, and to take the word of command from their generals On this occasion

Arminius, who reviewed the whole field on horseback, as he rode up to each band boasted of regained freedom, of slaughtered legions of spoils and weapons wrested from the Romans, *and still in the hands of many of his men* As for Maroboduus, he called him a fugitive who had no experience of battles who had sheltered himself in the recesses of the Hercynian forest and then with presents and embassies sued for a treaty, a traitor to his country, a satellite of Cæsar, who deserved to be driven out, with rage as furious as that with which they had slain Quintilius Varus They should simply re member their many battles, the result of which, with the final expulsion of the Romans, suf ficiently showed who could claim the crown ing success in war

46 Nor did Maroboduus abstain from vaunts about himself or from revilings of the foe Clasping the hand of Inguiomerus he protest ed ' that in the person before them centred all the renown of the Cherusci, that to his counsels was due whatever had ended successfully Ar minius in his infatuation and ignorance was taking to himself the glory which belonged to another, for he had treacherously surprised

the glory *of the Germans* and then on equal terms the armies had parted He was by no means sorry that they had the matter in their own hands, whether they preferred to war with all their might against Rome, or to accept a bloodless peace"

To these words, which roused the two ar mies, was added the stimulus of special motives of their own The Cherusci and Langobardi were fighting for ancient renown or newly won freedom, the other side for the increase of their dominion Never at any time was the shock of battle more tremendous or the issue more doubtful, as the right wings of both armies were routed Further fighting was expected,

however, was sent as I have related, to establish peace

47 That same year twelve famous cities of Asia fell by an earthquake in the night, so that the destruction was all the more unforeseen and fearful Nor were there the means of escape

seemed to be raised aloft, and fires blazed out amid the ruin The calamity fell most fatally on the inhabitants of Sardis, and it attracted to them the largest share of sympathy The em peror promised ten million sesterces, and re mitted for five years all they paid to the ex chequer or to the emperor's purse Magnesia, under Mount Sipylus, was considered to come

rea, Myrina Cyme and Tmolus, were, it was decided, to be exempted from tribute for the same time, and some one was to be sent from the Senate to examine their actual condition and to relieve them Marcus Aletus, one of the ex prætors was chosen from a fear that, as an ex consul was governor of Asia, there might be rivalry between men of equal rank, and con

whose family she appeared to belong and the estate of Patuleius, a wealthy Roman knight, though he was himself left in part his heir, he gave to Marcus Servilius, whose name he dis-

cept a legacy from any one unless he had earned it by friendship Those who were strangers to him, and who, because they were at enmity with others, made the emperor their heir, he kept at a distance While, however, he relieved the honourable poverty of the virtuous, he ex

Quintus Vitellius

49 About the same time he

temples of the gods, which

age or from fire, and which Augustus had begun to restore These were temples to Liber, Libera, and Ceres, near the Great Circus, which last Aulus Postumius, when Dictator, had vowed, a temple to Flora in the same place, which had been built by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, ædiles, and a temple to Janus, which had been erected in the vegetable market by Caius Duilius, who was the first to make the Roman power successful at sea and to win a naval triumph over the Carthaginians A temple to Hope was consecrated by Germanicus, this had been vowed by Atilius in that same war

50 Meantime the law of treason was gaining strength Appuleia Varilia, grand niece of Augustus, was accused of treason by an informer for having ridiculed the Divine Augustus, Tiberius, and Tiberius's mother, in some insulting remarks, and for having been convicted of adultery, allied though she was to Cæsar's house Adultery, it was thought, was sufficiently guarded against by the Julian law As to the charge of treason, the emperor insisted that it should be taken separately, and that she should be condemned if she had spoken irreverently of Augustus Her insinuations against himself he did not wish to be the subject of judicial inquiry When asked by the consul what he thought of the unfavourable speeches she was accused of having uttered against his mother he said nothing Afterwards, on the next day of the Senate's meeting, he even begged in his mother's name that no words of any kind spoken against her might in any case be treated as criminal He then acquitted Appuleia of treason For her adultery, he deprecated the severer penalty, and advised that she should be removed by her kinsfolk, after the example of our forefathers, to more than two hundred miles from Rome Her paramour, Manlius, was forbidden to live in Italy or Africa

51 A contest then arose about the election of a prætor in the room of Vipstanus Gallus, whom death had removed Germanicus and Drusus (for they were still at Rome) support

strife in the Senate between his sons and the law Beyond question the law was beaten, but not at once, and only by a few votes, in the same way as laws were defeated even when they were in force

52 In this same year a war broke out in Africa, where the enemy was led by Tacfarinas A Numidian by birth, he had served as an

them like regular soldiers, under standards and in troops, till at last he was regarded as the leader, not of an undisciplined rabble, but of the Musulamian people This powerful tribe bordering on the deserts of Africa, and even then with none of the civilisation of cities, took up arms and drew their Moorish neighbours into the war These too had a leader, Mazippa The army was so divided that Tacfarinas kept the picked men who were armed in Roman fashion within a camp, and familiarised them with a commander's authority, while Mazippa, with light troops, spread around him fire, slaughter, and consternation They had forced the Cinithii, a far from contemptible tribe, into their cause, when Furius Camillus, pro

was by the hope of victory that they were lured on only to be defeated The legion was in the army's centre, the light cohorts and two cavalry squadrons on its wings Nor did Tacfarinas refuse battle The Numidians were routed, and after a number of years the name of Furius won military renown Since the days of the famous deliverer of our city and his son Camillus, fame as a general had fallen to the lot of other branches of the family, and the man of whom I am now speaking was regarded as an inexperienced soldier All the more willingly did Tiberius commemorate his achievements in the Senate, and the Senators voted him the ornaments of triumph, an honour which Camillus, because of his unambitious life, enjoyed without harm

53 In the following year Tiberius held his third, Germanicus his second, consulship Germanicus, however, entered on the office at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he had arrived by the coast of Illyricum, after having seen his brother Drusus, who was then in Dalmatia, and endured a stormy voyage through the Adriatic and afterwards the Ionian Sea He accordingly devoted a few days to the repair of his fleet, and, at the same time, in remembrance of his ancestors, he visited the bay which

the victory of Actium had made famous, the

*and there, as a concession to our treaty with an*

ward all the old deeds and sayings of their countrymen, to give additional dignity to their flattery

54 Thence he directed his course to Eubœa and crossed to Lesbos, where Agrippina for the last time was confined and gave birth to Julia He then penetrated to the remoter parts of the province of Asia, visited the Thracian cities, Perinthus and Byzantium, next, the narrow strait of the Propontis and the entrance of the Pontus, from an anxious wish to become acquainted with those ancient and celebrated localities He gave relief, as he went, to provinces which had been exhausted by internal feuds or by the oppressions of governors In his return he attempted to see the sacred mysteries of the Samothracians, but north winds which he encountered drove him aside from his course And so after visiting Ilium and surveying a scene venerable from the vicissitudes of fortune and as the birth place of our people, he coasted back along Asia, *and touched at Colophon, to consult* the oracle of the Clarian Apollo There, it is not a woman, as at Delphi, but a priest chosen from certain families, generally from Miletus, who ascertains simply the number and the names of the applicants Then descending into a cave and drinking a draught from a secret spring, the man, who is commonly ignorant of

do, an early doom.

courtesy, not the people of Athens, who indeed had been exterminated by repeated disasters,

vine Augustus He taunted them too with the past, with their ill success against the Macedonians, their violence to their own countrymen, for he had his own special grudge against this city, because they would not spare at his inter

Cyclades, he overtook Germanicus at the island *of Rhodes The prince was not ignorant of the* slanders with which he had been assailed, but his good nature was such that when a storm arose and drove Piso on rocks, and his enemy's destruction could have been referred to chance, he sent some triremes, by the help of which he

in advance When he reached Syria and the le

unes and assigning their places to creatures of his own or to the vilest of the men, while he allowed idleness in the camp, licentiousness in the towns, and the soldiers to roam through the country and take their pleasure He went such lengths in demoralizing them, that he was spoken of in their vulgar talk as the father of the legions

Plancina too, instead of keeping herself within the proper limits of a woman, would be present at the evolutions of the cavalry and the manœuvres of the cohorts, and would fling insulting remarks at Agrippina and Germanicus Some even of the good soldiers were inclined to a corrupt compliance, as a whispered rumour gained ground that the emperor was not averse to these proceedings Of all this Germanicus was aware, but his most pressing anxiety was to

ing far away to Media It lies between two

ly, in the city of Artaxata, with the approval of the nobility, in the presence of a vast multitude, placed the royal diadem on his head All paid

duced to the form of a province, received as its governor Quintus Veranius Some of the royal tributes were diminished, to inspire hope of a gentler rule under Rome Quintus Servæus was appointed to Commagene, then first put under a prætor s jurisdiction

57 Successful as was this settlement of all the interests of our allies, it gave Germanicus little joy because of the arrogance of Piso Though he had been ordered to march part of the legions into Armenia under his own or his son's command, he had neglected to do either

friends who knew well how to inflame a quarrel, exaggerated what was true and added lies, alleging various charges against Piso, Plancina, and their sons

At last, in the presence of a few intimate associates, Germanicus addressed him in language such as suppressed resentment suggests, to which Piso replied with haughty apologies They parted in open enmity After this Piso was seldom seen at Cæsar s tribunal, and if he ever sat by him, it was with a sullen frown and a marked display of opposition He was even heard to say at a banquet given by the king of the Nabatæans, when some golden crowns of great weight were presented to Cæsar and Agrippina and light ones to Piso and the rest, that the entertainment was given to the son of a Roman emperor, not of a Parthian king At the same time he threw his crown on the ground, with a long speech against luxury, which, though it angered Germanicus, he still bore with patience

58 Meantime envoys arrived from Artabanus, king of the Parthians He had sent them to recall the memory of friendship and alliance,

vancing to the bank of the Euphrates He begged meanwhile that Vonones might not be kept in Syria, where, by emissaries from an easy distance, he might draw the chiefs of the tribes into civil strife Germanicus' answer as to the alliance between Rome and Parthia was dignified, as to the king's visit and the respect shown to himself, it was graceful and modest. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a city on the coast of Cilicia This was not merely a concession to the request of Artabanus, but was meant as an affront to Piso, who had a special liking for Vonones, because of the many attentions and presents by which he had won Plancina s favour

59 In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus set out for Egypt to study its antiquities His ostensible motive however was solicitude for the province He reduced the price of corn by opening the grana

pio who, it is said, habitually did the same in Sicily, even when the war with Carthage was still raging Tiberius having gently expressed disapproval of his dress and manners, pronounced a very sharp censure on his visit to Alexandria without the emperor's leave, contrary to the regulations of Augustus That

try, from a fear that any one who held a province containing the key of the land and of the sea, with ever so small a force against the mightiest army, might distress Italy by famine

60 Germanicus, however, who had not yet learnt how much he was blamed for his expedition, sailed up the Nile from the city of Canopus as his starting point Spartans founded the place because Canopus, pilot of one of their ships, had been buried there, when Menelaus on his return to Greece was driven into a distant sea and to the shores of Libya Thence he went to the river s nearest mouth, dedicated to

of ancient Thebes There yet remained on the towering piles Egyptian inscriptions, with a complete account of the city's past grandeur

and held under his sway the countries inhabited by the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours, the Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to the Lycian sea There was also to be read what tributes were imposed on these nations,

61 But Germanicus also bestowed attention on other wonders Chief of these were the stone image of Memnon, which, when struck by the sun's rays, gives out the sound of a human voice, the pyramids, rising up like mountains amid almost impassable wastes of shifting sand, raised by the emulation and vast wealth of kings, the lake hollowed out of the earth to be a receptacle for the Nile's overflow, and elsewhere the river's narrow channel and profound depth which no line of the explorer can penetrate He then came to Elephantine and Syene, formerly the limits of the Roman empire, which now extends to the Red Sea

62 While Germanicus was spending the summer in visits to several provinces, Drusus gained no little glory by sowing discord among the Germans and urging them to complete the destruction of the now broken power of Maroboduus Among the Gotones was a youth of noble birth, Catualda by name, who had formerly been driven into exile by the might of Maroboduus, and who now, when the king's fortunes were declining, ventured on revenge He entered the territory of the Marcomanni with a strong force, and, having corruptly won over the nobles to join him, burst into the palace and into an adjacent fortress There he found the long accumulated plunder of the Suevi and camp followers and traders from our provinces who had been attracted to an enemy's land, each from their various homes first by the freedom of commerce, next by the desire of amassing wealth, finally by forgetfulness of their fatherland

63 Maroboduus, now utterly deserted, had no resource but in the mercy of Cæsar Having crossed the Danube where it flows by the province of Noricum, he wrote to Tiberius, not like a fugitive or a suppliant, but as one who re

home in Italy, if he would remain there, or, if his interests required something different, he might leave it under the same protection under which he had come But in the Senate he maintained that Philip had not been so formidable to the Athenians, or Pyrrhus or Antiochus to the Roman people, as was Maroboduus The speech is extant, and in it he magnifies the man's power, the ferocity of the tribes under his sway, his proximity to Italy as a foe, finally his own measures for his overthrow The result was that Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, where his possible return was a menace to the Suevi, should they ever disdain obedience But

barians who followed the two kings, lest they might disturb the peace of the provinces by mingling with the population, were settled beyond the Danube between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under a king, Vannius, of the nation of the Quadi

64 Tidings having also arrived of Artaxias

having established peace by wise policy than if

and what bordered on Greek territories fell to Cotys, the wild and barbarous portion, with enemies on its frontier, to Rhescuporis The kings too themselves differed, Cotys having a gentle and kindly temper, the other a fierce and ambitious spirit, which could not brook a partner Still at first they lived in a hollow friendship, but soon Rhescuporis overstepped his bounds and appropriated to himself what had been given to Cotys, using force when he was resisted, though somewhat timidly under Augustus who having created

would, he feared, avenge any cor

arrangement When however he heard of the change of emperor, he let loose bands of free booters and razed the fortresses, as a provoca tion to war

65 Nothing made Tiberius so uneasy as an apprehension of the disturbance of any settle ment He commissioned a centurion to tell the kings not to decide their dispute by arms Cotys at once dismissed the forces which he had pre pared Rhescuporis, with assumed modesty, asked for a place of meeting where he said,

was mutually conceded and accepted by the one out of good nature, by the other with a treacherous intent Rhescuporis, to ratify the treaty, as he said further proposed a banquet and when their mirth had been prolonged far into the night, and Cotys amid the feasting and

that a plot had been formed against him, and that he had forestalled the plotter Meanwhile,

He received a conciliatory answer If there was no treachery in his conduct, he could rely

fore to surrender Cotys come in person and transfer from himself the odium of the charge

66 This letter Latinius Pandus, propraetor of Moesia, sent to Thrace with soldiers to whose custody Cotys was to be delivered Rhescuporis, hesitating between fear and rage, preferred to be charged with an accomplished rather than with an attempted crime He ordered Cotys to

king by great promises, though he hesitated and thought of his guilty deeds, to enter the Roman lines He then surrounded him with a strong force under pretence of showing him honour, and the tribunes and centurions, by counsel, by

and was condemned to be kept a prisoner far away from his kingdom Thrace was divided be tween his son Rhœmetalces, who, it was proved had opposed his father's designs, and the sons of Cotys As these were still minors, Trebellie nus Rufus, an expraetor, was appointed to gov ern the kingdom in the meanwhile, after the precedent of our ancestors who sent Marcus Lepidus into Egypt as guardian to Ptolemy's children Rhescuporis was removed to Alexan dria, and there attempting or falsely charged with attempting escape, was put to death

68 About the same time, Vonones, who, as I have related, had been banished to Cilicia, en deavoured by bribing his guards to escape into Armenia, thence to Albania and Heniochia, and to his kinsman, the king of Scythia Quit ting the sea-coast on the pretence of a hunting expedition, he struck into trackless forests, and was soon borne by his swift steed to the river Pyramus the bridges over which had been broken down by the natives as soon as they heard of the king s escape Nor was there a ford by which it could be crossed And so on the river s bank he was put in chains by Vibius Fronto, an officer of cavalry, and then Rem mius, an enrolled pensioner, who had previous

and fearing accusation, had slain Vonones

69 Germanicus meanwhile, as he was re

he was detained there by the failing health of Germanicus, but when he heard of his recov ery, while people were paying the vows they had offered for his safety, he went attended by his lictors, drove away the victims placed by the altars with all the preparations for sacrifice, and the festal gathering of the populace of Antioch Then he left for Seleucia and awaited the result of the illness which had again at tacked Germanicus The terrible intensity of the malady was increased by the belief that he

had been poisoned by Piso And certainly there were found hidden in the floor and in the walls disinterred remains of human bodies, incanta tions and spells, and the name of Germanicus inscribed on leaden tablets, half burnt cinders smeared with blood, and other horrors by which in popular belief souls are devoted so the infernal deities Piso too was accused of sending emissaries to note curiously every unfavourable symptom of the illness

be the lot of my most unhappy wife, of my infant children? Poisoning seems tedious, he is in eager haste to have the sole control of the province and the legions But Germanicus is not yet fallen so low, nor will the murderer

further delay weighed anchor, slackening his course that he might not have a long way to return should Germanicus' death leave Syria open to him.

71 For a brief space the prince's hopes rose; then his frame became exhausted, and, as his end drew near, he spoke as follows to the friends by his side —

"Were I succumbing to nature, I should have just ground of complaint even against the gods for thus tearing me away in my youth by an un timely death from parents, children, country Now, cut off by the wickedness of Piso and Plancina, I leave to your hearts my last entreaties Describe to my father and brother, torn by what persecutions, entangled by what plots, I have ended by the worst of deaths the most miserable of lives If any were touched by my bright prospects, by ties of blood, or even by envy towards me while I lived, they will weep that the once prosperous survivor of so many wars has perished by a woman's treachery You

cus even strangers will shed, vengeance must come from *you*, if you loved the man more than his fortune Show the people of Rome her who is the granddaughter of the Divine Augustus, as well as my consort, set before them my six children Sympathy will be on the side of the accusers, and to those who screen themselves under infamous orders belief or pardon will be refused"

His friends clasped the dying man's right hand, and swore that they would sooner lose life than revenge

and not, when she returned to Rome, to en-

and voice, and while he maintained the greatness and dignity of the highest rank, he had escaped the hatred that waits on arrogance

virtues

As to the body which, before it was burnt, lay bare in the forum at Antioch, its destined place of burial, it is doubtful whether it exhibited the marks of poisoning For men ac cording as they pitied Germanicus and were prepossessed with suspicion or were biased by partiality towards Piso, gave conflicting accounts

74. Then followed a del

generals and other senators

appointment of a governor to Syria The contest was slight among all but Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius, between whom there was [illegible]

[illegible] geance, embarked with the ashes of Germanicus and with her children, pitied by all Here indeed was a woman of the highest nobility, and but lately because of her splendid union wont to be seen amid an admiring and sympathizing throng, now bearing in her bosom the mournful relics of death, with an uncertain hope of revenge, with apprehensions for herself, repeatedly at fortune's mercy by reason of the ill starred fruitfulness of her marriage Piso was at the island of Coos when tidings reached him that Germanicus was dead He received the news with extravagant joy, slew victims, visited the temples, with no moderation in his transports, while Plancina's insolence increased, and she then for the first time exchanged for the gayest attire the mourning she had worn for her lost sister

76 Centurions streamed in, and hinted to Piso that he had the sympathy of the legions at his command "Go back," they said, "to the [illegible]

[illegible] son, Marcus Piso, advised speedy return [illegible] said, " [illegible] guilt, a [illegible] or vagu [illegible] deserve [illegible] and by [illegible] ince, y [illegible] have been fully satisfied But if you return, should Sentius resist you, civil war is begun [illegible]

77. Against this view Domitius Celer, one of Piso's intimate friends, argued that he ought to profit by the opportunity. "It was Piso, not Sentius, who had been appointed to Syria. It was to Piso that the symbols of power and a prætor's jurisdiction and the legions had been given In case of a hostile menace, who would more rightfully confront it by arms than the man who had received the authority and special commission of a governor? And as for rumours, it is best to leave time in which they may die away Often the innocent cannot stand against the first burst of [illegible]

[illegible] of an ignorant mob? You have on your side the complicity of Augusta and the emperor's favour, though in secret, and none mourn more ostentatiously over the death of Germanicus than those who most rejoice at it"

78 Without much difficulty Piso, who was ever ready for violent action, was led into this view He sent a letter to Tiberius accusing Germanicus of luxury and arrogance, and asserting that, having been driven away to make room for revolution, he had resumed the command of the army in the same loyal spirit in which he had before held it At the same time he put Domitius on board a trireme, with an order to avoid the coast and to push on to Syria through the open sea away from the islands He formed into regular companies the deserters who flocked to him, armed the camp-followers, crossed with his ships to the mainland, intercepted a detachment of new levies on their way to Syria, and wrote word to the petty kings of Cilicia that they were to help him with auxiliaries, the young Piso actively assisting in all the business of war, though he had advised against undertaking it.

79 And so they coasted along Lycia and Pamphylia, and on meeting the fleet which conveyed Agrippina, both sides in hot anger at first armed [illegible] f [illegible] te [illegible] h [illegible] b [illegible] as soon as the prætor who had to try poisoning cases had fixed a day for the accused and his prosecutors

Meanwhile Domitius having landed at Laodicea, a city of Syria, as he was on his way to the winter-quarters of the sixth legion, which was, he believed, particularly open to revolutionary schemes, was anticipated by its commander Pacuvius Of this Sentius informed

Piso in a letter, and warned him not to disturb the armies by agents of corruption or the province by war He gathered round him all whom he knew to cherish the memory of Germanicus, and to be opposed to his enemies, dwelling repeatedly on the greatness of the general, with hints that the State was being threatened with an armed attack, and he put himself at the head of a strong force, prepared for battle

80 Piso, too, though his first attempts were unsuccessful, did not omit the safest precautions under present circumstances, but occupied a very strongly fortified position in Cilicia, named Celenderis He had raised to the strength of a legion the Cilician auxiliaries which the petty kings had sent, by mixing with them some deserters, and the lately intercepted recruits with his own and Plancina's slaves And he protested that he, though Cæsar's legate was kept out of the province which Cæsar had given him, not by the legions (for he had come at their invitation) but by Sentius who was veiling private animosity under lying charges ' Only he said, "stand in battle array, and the soldiers will not fight when they see that Piso whom they themselves once called 'father,' is the stronger, if right is to decide, if arms, is far from powerless "

He then deployed his companies before the lines of the fortress on a high and precipitous hill, with the sea surrounding him on every other side Against him were the veteran troops drawn up in ranks and with reserves a formidable soldiery on one side, a formidable position on the other But his men had neither heart nor hope, and only rustic weapons, extemporised for sudden use. When they came to fighting, the result was doubtful only while the Roman cohorts were struggling up to level ground then, the Cilicians turned their backs and shut themselves up within the fortress

81 Meanwhile Piso vainly attempted an attack on the fleet which waited at a distance he then went back, and as he stood before the walls, now smiting his breast, now calling on individual soldiers by name, and luring them on by rewards, sought to excite a mutiny He had so far roused them that a standard bearer of the sixth legion went over to him with his standard Thereupon Sentius ordered the horns and trumpets to be sounded, the rampart to be assaulted, the scaling ladders to be raised, all the bravest men to mount on them, while others were to discharge from the engines spears, stones, and brands At last Piso's obstinacy was overcome, and he begged that he might remain in the fortress on surrendering his arms, while the emperor was being consulted about the appointment of a governor to Syria The proposed terms were refused, and all that was granted him were some ships and a safe return to Rome

82 There meantime, when the illness of Germanicus was universally known, and all news, coming, as it did, from a distance, exaggerated the danger, there was grief and indignation There was too an outburst of complaint "Of course this was the meaning," they said, of banishing him to the ends of the earth, of giving Piso the province, this was the drift of Augusta s secret interviews with Plancina What elderly men had said of Drusus was perfectly true that rulers disliked a citizen like temper in their sons, and the young princes had been put out of the way because they had the idea of comprehending in a restored era of freedom the Roman people under equal laws "

This popular talk was so stimulated by the news of Germanicus s death that even before the magistrate s proclamation or the Senate's resolution there was a voluntary suspension of business the public courts were deserted, and private houses closed Everywhere there was a silence broken only by groans, nothing was arranged for mere effect And though they refrained not from the emblems of the mourner, they sorrowed yet the more deeply in their hearts

It chanced that some merchants who left Syria while Germanicus was still alive, brought more cheering tidings about his health These were instantly believed, instantly published Every one passed on to others whom he met the intelligence, ill authenticated as it was, and they again to many more, with joyous exaggeration They ran to and fro through the city and broke open the doors of the temples Night assisted their credulity, and amid the darkness confident assertion was comparatively easy Nor did Tiberius check the false reports till by lapse of time they died away

83 And so the people grieved the more bitterly as though Germanicus was again lost to them New honours were devised and decreed, as men were inspired by affection for him or by genius His name was to be celebrated in the song of the Salii, chairs of state with oaken garlands over them were to be set up in the places assigned to the priesthood of the Augustales, his image in ivory was to head the procession in the games of the circus no flamen or augur, except from the Julian family, was to be chosen in the room of Germanicus Triumphal arcs were erected at Rome, on the banks of

Rhine, and on mount Amanus in Syria, with an inscription recording his achievements, and how he had died in the public service A cenotaph was raised at Antioch, where the body was burnt, a lofty mound at Epidaphna, where he had ended his life The number of his statues, or of the places in which they were honoured, could not easily be computed When a

kind, similar to the rest, for in eloquence, he said, there was no distinction of rank, and it was a sufficient glory for him to be classed among ancient writers The knights called the seats in the theatre known as "the juniors," Germanicus s benches, and arranged that their squadrons were to ride in procession behind his effigy on the fifteenth of July Many of these honours still remain, some were at once dropped, or became obsolete with time

84 While men s sorrow was yet fresh, Germanicus's sister Livia, who was married to

to his own glory every incident, however casual But at such a time, even this brought grief to the people, who thought that the increase of Drusus's family still further depressed the house of Germanicus

85 That same year the profligacy of women was checked by stringent enactments, and it was provided that no woman whose grandfather, father, or husband had been a Roman knight should get money by prostitution Vistilia, *born of a prætorian family*, had actually published her name with this object on the ædile's list, according to a recognised custom of our ancestors, who considered it a sufficient punishment on unchaste women to have to profess their shame Titidius Labeo, Vistilia's hus-

tion had not yet expired, it was thought sufficient to decide Vistilia s case, and she was ban

the freedmen class who were infected with those superstitions and were of military age should be transported to the island of Sardinia, to quell the brigandage of the place, a cheap sacrifice should they die from the pestilential climate The rest were to quit Italy, unless before a certain day they repudiated their impious rites

86 Next the emperor brought forward a motion for the election of a Vestal virgin in the room of Occia, who for fifty seven years had presided with the most immaculate virtue over the Vestal worship He formally thanked Fon

ter was preferred, only because her mother had lived with one and the same husband, while Agrippa had impaired the honour of his house by a divorce The emperor consoled his daughter, passed over though she was, with a dowry of a million sesterces

87 As the city populace complained of the cruel dearness of corn, he fixed a price for grain to be paid by the purchaser, promising himself to add two sesterces on every peck for the traders But he would not therefore accept the title of "father of the country" which once before too had been offered him, and he sharply rebuked those who called his work "divine" and himself "lord" Consequently, speech was restricted and perilous under an emperor who feared freedom while he hated sycophancy

88 I find it stated by some writers and senators of the period that a letter from Adgandestrius, chief of the Chatti, was read in the Senate, promising the death of Arminius, if poison were sent for the perpetration of the murder, and that the reply was that it was not by secret treachery but openly and by arms that the *people of Rome avenged themselves on their enemies* A noble answer, by which Tiberius sought to liken himself to those generals of old who had forbidden and even denounced the poisoning of *king Pyrrhus*

Arminius, meanwhile, when the Romans retired and Maroboduus was expelled, found himself opposed in aiming at the throne by his countrymen's independent spirit He was assailed by armed force, and while fighting with various success, fell by the treachery of his kinsmen Assuredly he was the deliverer of Germany, one too who had defied Rome, not in

of life, twelve years of power and he is still a theme of song among barbarous nations, though to Greek historians, who admire only their own achievements, he is unknown, and to Romans not as famous as he should be, while we extol the past and are indifferent to our own times

## BOOK III, A D 20–22

1 WITHOUT pausing in her winter voyage Agrippina arrived at the island of Corcyra facing the shores of Calabria There she spent a few days to compose her mind, for she was wild with grief and knew not how to endure Meanwhile on hearing of her arrival, all her intimate friends and several officers, every one indeed who had served under Germanicus, many strangers too from the neighbouring towns, some thinking it respectful to the emperor and still more following their example, thronged eagerly to Brundisium, the nearest and safest landing place for a voyager

As soon as the fleet was seen on the horizon, not only the harbour and the adjacent shores but the city walls too and the roofs and every place which commanded the most distant prospect were filled with crowds of mourners who incessantly asked one another, whether, when she landed, they were to receive her in silence or with some utterance of emotion They were not agreed on what befitted the occasion when the fleet slowly approached, its crew, not joyous as is usual, but wearing all a studied expression of grief When Agrippina descended from the vessel with her two children, clasping the funeral urn, with eyes riveted to the earth, there was one universal groan You could not distinguish kinsfolk from strangers, or the laments of men from those of women, only the attendants of Agrippina, worn out as they were by long sorrow, were surpassed by the mourners who now met them, fresh in their grief

2 The emperor had despatched two prætorian cohorts with instructions that the magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania were to pay the last honours to his son's memory Accordingly tribunes and centurions bore Germanicus's ashes on their shoulders They were preceded by the standards unadorned and the fasces reversed As they passed colony after colony, the populace in black, the knights in their state robes burnt vestments and perfumes with other usual funeral adjuncts, in proportion to the wealth of the place Even those whose towns were out of the route, met the mourners, offered victims and built altars to the dead, testifying their grief by tears and wailings Drusus went as far as Tarracina with Claudius brother of Germanicus and the children who had been at Rome Marcus Valerius and Caius Aurelius, the consuls who had already entered on office, and a great number of the people thronged the road in scattered groups, every one weeping as he felt inclined Flattery there was none, for all knew that Tiberius could scarcely dissemble his joy at the death of Germanicus

or in the daily register that Antonia Germanicus's mother, rendered any conspicuous honour to the deceased, though besides Agrippina Drusus and Claudius, all his other kinsfolk are mentioned by name She may either have been hindered by illness or with a spirit overpowered by

their sorrow might seem equal to hers and that the grandmother and uncle might be thought to follow the mother s example in staying at home

4 The day on which the remains were consigned to the tomb of Augustus, was now desolate in its silence, now distracted by lamentations The streets of the city were crowded torches were blazing throughout the Campus Martius There the soldiers under arms, the

one think that they remembered their rulers But nothing impressed Tiberius more deeply than the enthusiasm kindled in favour of Agrippina whom men spoke of as the glory of the country, the sole surviving offspring of Augustus the solitary example of the old times, while looking up to heaven and the gods they prayed for the safety of her children and that they might outlive their oppressors

panegyric before the rostra, every honour devised by our ancestors or invented by their descendants was heaped on him But as for Germanicus, even the customary distinctions due to any noble

honours ought to have been afterwards paid him, because at first chance had denied them

lence popular talk, he reminded the people in a proclamation that many eminent Romans had died for their country and that none had been honoured with such passionate regret This regret was a glory both to himself and to all, provided only a due mean were observed for what

mourning were suitable enough for the first burst of grief but now they must brace their hearts to endurance, as in former days the Di

now There was no need of examples from the past, showing how often the Roman people had patiently endured the defeats of armies, the destruction of generals, the total extinction of noble families Princes were mortal the State was everlasting Let them then return to their usual pursuits and, as the shows of the festival of the Great Goddess were at hand, even resume their amusements

7 The suspension of business then ceased, and men went back to their occupations Drusus was sent to the armies of Illyricum, amidst an universal eagerness to exact vengeance on Piso, and ceaseless complaints that he was meantime roaming through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, and was weakening the proofs of his guilt by an insolent and artful procrastination It was indeed widely rumoured that the notorius poisoner Martina, who, as I have re-

her person

8 Piso meanwhile sent his son on to Rome with a message intended to pacify the emporer, and then made his way to Drusus, who would he hoped, be not so much infuriated at his brother's death as kindly disposed towards himself in consequence of a rival s removal Tiberius, to show his impartiality, received the youth courteously, and enriched him with the liberality he usually bestowed on the sons of noble families Drusus replied to Piso that if certain insinuations were true, he must be foremost in his resentment, but he preferred to believe that they were false and

inasmuch as one who had generally all the simplicity and candour of youth, now had recourse

cenum and along the Flaminian road where he overtook a legion which was marching from Pannonia to Rome and was then to garrison Africa It was a matter of common talk how he had repeatedly displayed himself to the soldiers on the road during the march From Narnia, to avoid suspicion or because the plans of fear are uncertain, he sailed down the Nar, then down the Tiber, and increased the fury of the populace by bringing his vessel to shore at the tomb of the Cæsars In broad daylight, when the river bank was thronged, he himself with a numerous following of dependents, and Plancina with a retinue of women moved onward with joy in their

no secrecy, because the place was so public

10 Next day, Fulcinius Trio asked the consul s leave to prosecute Piso It was contended against him by Vitellius and Veranius and the others who had been the companions of Germanicus, that this was not Trio s proper part, and that they themselves meant to report their instructions from Germanicus, not as accusers, but as deponents and witnesses to facts Trio abandoning the prosecution on this count, obtained leave to accuse Piso's previous career, and the emperor was requested to undertake the inquiry This even the accused did not refuse, fearing, as he did, the bias of the people and of the Senate, while Tiberius, he knew, was resolute enough to despise report, and was also entangled in his mother's complicity Truth too would be more easily distinguished from per

verse misrepresentation by a single judge, where a number would be swayed by hatred and ill will

Tiberius was not unaware of the formidable difficulty of the inquiry and of the rumours by which he was himself assailed Having therefore summoned a few intimate friends, he listened to the threatening speeches of the prosecutors and to the pleadings of the accused, and finally referred the whole case to the Senate

11 Drusus meanwhile, on his return from Illyricum, though the Senate had voted him an ovation for the submission of Maroboduus and the successes of the previous summer, postponed the honour and entered Rome Then the defendant sought the advocacy of Lucius Arruntius Marcus Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Aeserninus Marcellus and Sextus Pompeius, and on their declining for different reasons Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus became his counsel, amid the excitement of the whole country, which wondered how much fidelity would be shown by the friends of Germanicus, on what the accused rested his hopes, and how far Tiberius would repress and hide his feelings Never were the people more keenly interested, never did they indulge themselves more freely in secret whispers against the emperor or in the silence of suspicion

12 On the day the Senate met, Tiberius delivered a speech of studied moderation Piso' he said, was my father's representative and friend, and was appointed by myself on the ad

avenge a personal quarrel without resorting to my power as emperor If however a crime is discovered which ought to be punished, whoever the murdered man may be, it is for you to give just reparation both to the children of Germanicus and to us, his parents

"Consider this too, whether Piso dealt with the armies in a revolutionary and seditious spirit, whether he sought by intrigue popularity with the soldiers, whether he attempted to repos-

justly angry with their intemperate zeal For to what purpose did they strip the corpse and expose it to the pollution of the vulgar gaze, and circulate a story among foreigners that he was destroyed by poison, if all this is still doubtful and requires investigation? For my part, I sorrow for my son and shall always sorrow for him, still I would not hinder the accused from producing all the evidence which can relieve his innocence or convict Germanicus of any unfairness if such there was And I implore you not to take as proven charges alleged, merely because the case is intimately bound up with my affliction Do you, whom ties of blood or your own true heartedness have made his advocates, help

place Germanicus above the laws by conducting the inquiry into his death in this house instead of in the forum, and before the Senate instead of before a bench of judges In all else let the case be tried as simply as others Let no one heed the tears of Drusus or my own sorrow, or any stories invented to our discredit"

13 Two days were then assigned for the bringing forward of the charges, and after six

could be tried as a prisoner

14 On all points but one the defence broke down That he had tampered with the sold

that his pr

vilest of them, that he had even insulted his chief, he could not deny It was only the charge of poisoning from which he seemed to have cleared himself This indeed the prosecutors did not adequately sustain by merely alleging that at a banquet given by Germanicus, his food had been tainted with poison by the hands of Piso who sat next above him It seemed absurd to suppose that he would have dared such an attempt among strange servants, in the sight of so many bystanders, and under Germanicus s own eyes And, besides, the defendant offered his slaves to the torture, and insisted on its application to the attendants on that occasion But the judges for different reasons were merciless, the emperor, because war had been made on a province, the Senate because they could not be sufficiently convinced that there had been no treachery about the death of Germanicus

At the same time shouts were heard from the people in front of the Senate House, threatening violence if he escaped the verdict of the Senators They had actually dragged Piso's statues to the Gemonian stairs, and were breaking them in pieces, when by the emperor s order they were rescued and replaced Piso was then put in a litter and attended by a tribune of one of the Prætorian cohorts, who followed him, so it was variously rumoured, to guard his person or to be his executioner

15 Plancina was equally detested, but had

whatever it might be, and in the worst event, to be his companion in death But as soon as she had secured her pardon through the secret intercessions of Augusta, she gradually withdrew from her husband and separated her defence from his When the prisoner saw that this was fatal to him, he hesitated whether he should still persist, but at the urgent request of his sons braced his courage and once more entered the Senate There he bore patiently the renewal of the accusation, the furious voices of the Senators,

the next day, he wrote a few words, sealed the paper and handed it to a freedman Then he bestowed the usual attention on his person, after a while, late at night, his wife having left his chamber, he ordered the doors to be closed, and at daybreak was found with his throat cut and a sword lying on the ground.

16 I remember to have heard old men say that a document was often seen in Piso's hands, the substance of which he never himself divulged, but which his friends repeatedly declared contained a letter from Tiberius with instructions referring to Germanicus, and that it was his intention to produce it before the Senate and upbraid the emperor, had he not been deluded by vain promises from Sejanus Nor did he perish, they said, by his own hand, but by that of one sent to be his executioner Neither of these statements would I positively affirm, still it would not have been right for me to conceal what was related by those who lived up to the time of my youth

The emperor, assuming an air of sadness complained in the Senate that the purpose of such a death was to bring odium on himself, and he asked with repeated questionings how Piso had spent his last day and night Receiving answers which were mostly judicious, though in part somewhat incautious, he read out a note written by Piso, nearly to the following effect —

Crushed by a conspiracy of my foes and the odium excited by a lying charge, since my truth and innocence find no place here, I call the immortal gods to witness that towards you Cæsar, I have lived loyally, and with like dutiful respect towards your mother And I implore you to think of my children, one of whom Cneius Piso, is in no way implicated in my career, whatever it may have been, seeing that all this time he has been at Rome, while the other, Marcus Piso, dissuaded me from returning to Syria Would that I had yielded to my young son rather than he to his aged father! And therefore I pray the more earnestly that the innocent may not pay the penalty of my wickedness By forty five years of obedience, by my association with you in the consulate, as one who formerly won the esteem of the Divine Augustus, your father as one who is your friend and will never hereafter ask a favour, I implore you to save my unhappy son " About Plancina he added not a word

17 Tiberius after this acquitted the young Piso of the charge of civil war on the ground that a son could not have refused a father s

and conscious disgrace, alleging in excuse the intercession of his *mother, secret complaints* against whom from all good men were grow ing more and more vehement 'So it was the duty of a grandmother," people said, 'to look a grandson's murderess in the face, to converse with her and rescue her from the Senate What the laws secure on behalf of every citizen, had to Germanicus alone been denied The voices of a Vitellius and Veranius had bewailed a

ed so successful, against Agrippina and her chil dren and thus sate this exemplary grandmother and uncle with the blood of a most unhappy house'

tion of Augusta's intercession

18 Much of the sentence was mitigated by the emperor The name of Piso was not to be struck out of the public register, since that of Marcus Antonius who had made war on his country, and that of Julius Antonius who had dishonoured the house of Augustus, still re mained Marcus Piso too he saved from degra dation, and gave him his father s property, for he was firm enough, as I have often related, against the temptation of money and now for very shame at Plancina s acquittal, he was more

tories over the foreigner were commemorated with such monuments but that domestic woes ought to be shrouded in silent grief

There was a further proposal of Messalinus, that Tiberius, Augusta, Antonia, Agrippina and Drusus ought to be publicly thanked for having avenged Germanicus He omitted all mention *of Claudius Thereupon he was pointedly asked* by Lucius Asprenas before the Senate, whether the omission had been intentional, and it was only then that the name of Claudius was added For my part, the wider the scope of my reflec tion on the present and the past the more am I impressed by their mockery of human plans in every transaction Clearly, the very last man marked out for empire by public opinion, ex pectation and general respect was he whom for tune was holding in reserve as the emperor of the future

19 A few days afterwards the emperor pro-

rancour This was the end of avenging the death of Germanicus, a subject of conflicting rumours not only among the people then living but also in after times So obscure are the greatest events,

his command and soon afterwards re-entered the city with an ovation In the course of a few days his mother Vipsania died the only one of all Agrippa's children whose death was without violence As for the rest, they perished some it is certain by the sword, others it was believed by poison or starvation

20 That same year Tacfarinas who had been

unpunished next by destroying villages and carrying off plunder wholesale Finally, he hemmed in a Roman cohort near the river Pagyda The position was commanded by De

his men

21 On receiving this information

Apronius, successor to Camillus, alarmed more by the dishonour of his own men than by the glory of the enemy, ventured on a deed quite exceptional at that time and derived from old [illegible]

[illegible]

veterans numbering not more than five hundred, routed those same troops of Tacfarinas on their attacking a fortress named Thala In this [illegible]

[illegible]

and a spear To these the emperor added the [illegible]

[illegible]

Tacfarinas however finding that the Numidians were cowed and had a horror of siege-operations, pursued a desultory warfare, retreating when he was pressed, and then again hanging on his enemy s rear While the barbarian continued these tactics he could safely insult the baffled and exhausted Romans But when he marched away towards the coast and, [illegible]

[illegible]

a mother by Publius Quirinus, a rich and childless man Then, too, there were charges of adulteries, of poisonings, and of inquiries made through astrologers concerning the imperial house The accused was defended by her brother Manius Lepidus Quirinus by his relentless enmity even after his divorce had procured for her some sympathy, infamous and guilty as she [illegible]

[illegible]

consuls Lepida s slaves, who were in military custody, but would not allow them to be ex- [illegible]

first to the question Some thought this a gracious act, done to save the rest of the Senators from a compulsory assent, while others ascribed it to malignity, on the ground that he would have yielded only where there was a necessity of condemning

23 On the days of the games which interrupted the trial, Lepida went into the theatre with some ladies of rank, and as she appealed with piteous wailings to her ancestors and to that very Pompey, the public buildings and statues of whom stood there before their eyes, she roused such sympathy that people burst into tears and shouted, without ceasing, savage curses on Quirinus, to whose childless old age and miserably obscure family, one once destined to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar and the daughter in law of the Divine Augustus was being sacrificed " Then, by the torture of the slaves, her infamies were brought to light, and a motion of Rubellius Blandus was carried which outlawed her Drusus supported him, though others had proposed a milder sentence Subsequently, Scaurus, who had had a daughter by her, obtained as a concession that her property should not be confiscated Then at last Tiberius declared that he had himself too ascertained from the slaves of Publius Quirinus that Lepida had attempted their master s life by poison

24 It was some compensation for the misfortunes of great houses (for within a short interval the Calpurnii had lost Piso and the Æmilii Lepida) that Decimus Silanus was now restored to the Junian family I will briefly relate his downfall

Though the Divine Augustus in his public life enjoyed unshaken prosperity, he was unfortunate at home from the profligacy of his daughter and granddaughter, both of whom he banished from Rome, and punished their paramours with death or exile Calling, as he did, a vice so habitual among men and women by the awful name of sacrilege and treason, he went far beyond the indulgent spirit of our ancestors, beyond indeed his own legislation But I will relate the deaths of others with the remaining events of that time, if after finishing the work I have now proposed to myself, I prolong my life for further labours

Decimus Silanus, the paramour of the granddaughter of Augustus, though the only severity he experienced was exclusion from the emperor's friendship, saw clearly that it meant exile, and it was not till Tiberius's reign that he ventured to appeal to the Senate and to the prince,

in reliance on the influence of his brother Marcus Silanus, who was conspicuous both for his distinguished rank and eloquence But Tiberius, when Silanus thanked him, replied in the Senate's presence, "that he too rejoiced at the brother's return from his long foreign tour, and

hce

25 It was next proposed to relax the Papia Poppæa law, which Augustus in his old age had passed subsequently to the Julian statutes,

become more frequent, so powerful were the attractions of a childless state Meanwhile there was an increase in the number of persons imperilled, for every household was undermined by the insinuations of informers; and now the country suffered from its laws, as it had hither

utes

26 Mankind in the earliest age lived for a time without a single vicious impulse, without shame or guilt, and, consequently, without punishment and restraints Rewards were not needed when everything right was pursued on its own merits; and as men desired nothing against morality, they were debarred from nothing by fear. When however they began to throw off equality, and ambition and violence usurped the place of self-control and modesty, despotisms grew up and became perpetual among

those of the Spartans, by Lycurgus, and, subsequently, those which Solan drew up for the Athenians on a more elaborate and extensive

whose laws even kings were to be subject.

27. After Tarquin's expulsion, the people, to check cabals among the Senators, devised

by the tribunes recovering their license to excite the people just as they chose And now bills were passed, not only for national objects but for individual cases, and laws were most numerous when the commonwealth was most corrupt

28 Cneius Pompeius was then for the third

what by arms he had been maintaining Then followed twenty years of continuous strife, cus-

pionage became too searching, and Rome and Italy and Roman citizens everywhere fell into its clutches Many men's fortunes were ruined,

slight temporary relief afforded

29 About this same time he commended to the Senate's favour, Nero, Germanicus's son, who was just entering on manhood, and asked them, not without smiles of ridicule from his audience, to exempt him from serving as one of the Twenty Commissioners, and let him be a candidate for the quæstorship five years earlier than the law allowed His excuse was that a similar decree had been made for himself and his brother at the request of Augustus But I cannot doubt that even then there were some who secretly laughed at such a petition, though the Cæsars were but in the beginning of their grandeur, and ancient usage was more constantly before men's eyes, while also the tie between stepfather and stepson was weaker than that between grandfather and grandchild The pontificate was likewise conferred on Nero, and on the day on which he first entered the forum, a gratuity was given to the city populace, who greatly rejoiced at seeing a son of Germanicus now grown to manhood Their joy was further increased by Nero's marriage to Julia Drusus's daughter This news was met with favourable comments, but it was heard with disgust that Sejanus was to be the father in law of the son of Claudius The emperor was thought to have polluted the nobility of his house and to have yet further elevated Sejanus, whom they already suspected of overweening ambition

30 Two remarkable men died at the end of the year, Lucius Volusius and Sallustius Crispus Volusius was of an old family, which had however never risen beyond the prætorship He brought into it the consulship, he also held the office of censor for arranging the classes of the knights, and was the first to pile up the wealth which that house enjoyed to a boundless extent

Crispus was of equestrian descent and grandson of a sister of Caius Sallustius, that most admirable Roman historian, by whom he was adopted and whose name he took Though his road to preferment was easy, he chose to emulate Mæcenas, and without rising to a senator's rank, he surpassed in power many who had won triumphs and consulships He was a contrast to the manners of antiquity in his elegance and refinement, and in the sumptuousness of his wealth he was almost a voluptuary But beneath all this was a vigorous mind, equal to the greatest labours, the more active in proportion as he

perial secrets, and accessory to the murder of Postumus Agrippa, till in advanced age he retained the shadow rather than the substance of the emperor's friendship The same too had happened to Mæcenas, so rarely is it the destiny of power to be lasting, or perhaps a sense of weariness steals over princes when they have bestowed everything or over favourites, when there is nothing left them to desire

31 Next followed Tiberius's fourth, Drusus's second consulship, memorable from the fact that father and son were colleagues Two years previously the association of Germanicus and Tiberius in the same honour had not been agreeable to the uncle, nor had it the link of so close a natural tie.

At the beginning of this year Tiberius, avowedly to recruit his health, retired to Campania either as a gradual preparation for long and uninterrupted seclusion, or in order that Drusus alone in his father's absence might discharge the duties of the consulship It happened that a mere trifle which grew into a sharp contest gave the young prince the means of acquiring popularity Domitius Corbulo, an ex prætor, complained to the Senate that Lucius Sulla a young noble, had not given place to him at a

uously exerted themselves There was a keen debate, and appeal was made to the precedents of our ancestors, as having censured in severe decrees disrespect on the part of the young, till Drusus argued in a strain calculated to calm their feelings Corbulo too received an apology from Mamercus, who was Sulla's uncle and stepfather, and the most fluent speaker of that day

It was this same Corbulo, who, after raising a cry that most of the roads in Italy were obstructed or impassable through the dishonesty of contractors and the negligence of officials, himself willingly undertook the complete management of the business This proved not so beneficial to the State as ruinous to many persons, whose property and credit he mercilessly attacked by convictions and confiscations

32 Soon afterwards Tiberius informed the Senate by letter that Africa was again disturbed by an incursion of Tacfarinas, and that they must use their judgment in choosing as proconsul an experienced soldier of vigorous constitution, who would be equal to the war Sextus Pompeius caught at this opportunity of venting his hatred against Lepidus, whom he

condemned as a poor spirited and needy man, who was a disgrace to his ancestors, and therefore deserved to lose even his chance of the [illegible]

instead of a reproach And so he was sent to Asia, and with respect to Africa it was decided that the emperor should choose to whom it was to be assigned

33 During this debate Severus Cæcina proposed that no magistrate who had obtained a province should be accompanied by his wife He began by recounting at length how harmoniously he had lived with his wife, who had borne him six children, and how in his own home he had observed what he was proposing for the public, by having kept her in Italy, though he had himself served forty campaigns in various provinces "With good reason," he said, "had it been formerly decided that women were not to be taken among our allies or into foreign countries A train of women involves delays through luxury in peace and through panic in war, and converts a Roman army on the march into the likeness of a barbarian progress Not only is the sex feeble and unequal to hardship, but, when it has liberty, it is spiteful, intriguing and greedy of power They show themselves off among the soldiers and have the centurions at their beck Lately a woman had presided at the drill of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions You should yourselves bear in mind that, whenever men are accused of extortion, most of the charges are directed against the wives It is to these that the vilest of the provincials instantly attach themselves, it is they who undertake and settle business, two persons receive homage when they appear, there are two centres of government, and the women s orders are the more despotic and intemperate Formerly they were restrained by the Oppian and other laws, now, loosed from every bond, they rule our houses, our tribunals, even our armies"

[illegible]

whom the father's eloquence was reproduced, replied that much of the sternness of antiquity had been changed into a better and more genial system 'Rome,' he said, 'is not now, as formerly, beset with wars, nor are the provinces hostile A few concessions are made to the wants of women, but such as are not even a burden [illegible]

be unincumbered, but when they return what worthier solace can they have after their hardships than a wife's society? But some wives have abandoned themselves to scheming and rapacity Well, even among our magistrates, [illegible]

ties of the time, and subsequently there was some remission and mitigation of them on grounds of expediency It is idle to shelter our own weakness under other names, for it is the husband s fault if the wife transgresses propriety Besides, it is wrong that because of the imbecility of one or two men, all husbands should be cut off from their partners in prosperity and adversity And further, a sex naturally weak will be thus left to itself and be at the mercy of its own voluptuousness and the passions of others Even with the husband s personal vigilance the marriage tie is scarcely preserved inviolate What would happen were it for a number of years to be forgotten, just as in a [illegible]

often visit the extremities of their empire How often had the Divine Augustus travelled to the [illegible]

Blæsus was uncle of Sejanus and so had very powerful interest Blæsus replied with an affectation of refusal, but not with the same persistency, nor was he backed up by the acquiescence of flatterers.

36 Next was exposed an abuse, hitherto the subject of many a whispered complaint The vilest wretches used a growing freedom in exciting insult and obloquy against respectable citizens, and escaped punishment by clasping some statue of the emperor The very freedman or slave was often an actual terror to his patron or master whom he would menace by word and [illegible]

to use it as an auxiliary in crime There was an end and utter subversion of all law when, in the forum and on the threshold of the Senate-[illegible]

to try legal proceedings, because he was confronted by her with the emperor's image" There rose other clamorous voices, with even more flagrant complaints, and all implored Drusus to inflict exemplary vengeance, till he order-[illegible]

Roman knights, were punished on the emperor's proposal, by a decree of the Senate, for having attacked the prætor, Magius Cæcilianus, with false charges of treason Both these results were represented as an honour to Drusus. By moving in society at Rome, amid popular talk, his father's dark policy, it was thought, was mitigated Even voluptuousness in one so young gave little offence Better that he should incline that way, spend his days in architecture, his [illegible]

schemes

[illegible]

acquitted of adultery, was recalled by the em-[illegible]

[illegible]

an island from which neither Macedonia nor Thrace were conveniently accessible

As for Thrace, since the division of the kingdom between Rhœmetalces and the children of Cotys, who because of their tender age were under the guardianship of Trebellienus Rufus, it was divided against itself, from not being used to our rule, and blamed Rhœmetalces no less than Trebellienus for allowing the wrongs of his countrymen to go unpunished The Cœlaletae, Odrusae and Dii, powerful tribes, took up arms, under different leaders, all on a level from their obscurity. This hindered them from combining in a formidable war. Some roused their immediate neighbourhood, others crossed Mount Hæmus, to stir up remote tribes; most of them, and the best disciplined, besieged the king in the city of Philippopolis, founded by the Macedonian Philip.

39 When this was known to Publius Vellæus [illegible]

the main strength of the foot to raise the siege Every operation was at the same moment successful; the pillagers were cut to pieces; dissensions broke out among the besiegers, and the king made a well timed sally just as the legion arrived. A battle or even a skirmish it did not deserve to be called, in which merely half armed stragglers were slaughtered without bloodshed on our side.

40 That same year, some states of Gaul, under the pressure of heavy debts, attempted a revolt Its most active instigators were Julius [illegible]

granted them, when the gift was rare and a recompense only of merit. In secret conferences to which the fiercest spirits were admitted, or [illegible]

talked sedition before small gatherings and popular assemblies about the perpetual tributes, [illegible] was [illegible] had

heard of the murder of Germanicus 'It was,'

foreign element"

41 Scarcely a single community was untouched by the germs of this commotion First however in actual revolt were the Andecavi and Turoni Of these the former were put down by an officer, Acilius Aviola, who had summoned a cohort which was on garrison duty at Lugdunum The Turoni were quelled by some legionary troops sent by Visellius Varro who commanded in Lower Germany, and led by the same Aviola and some Gallic chieftains who brought aid, in order that they might disguise their disaffection and exhibit it at a better opportunity Sacrovir too was conspicuous, with

tion that he might not be a mark for missiles Tiberius when consulted on the matter disdained the information, and fostered the war by his irresolution

42 Florus meanwhile followed up his designs

pendents took up arms, and they were on their way to the forest passes known as the Arduenna, when they were stopped by legions which Visellius and Silius had sent from their respective armies, by opposite routes, to meet them Julius Indus from the same state, who was at feud with Florus and therefore particularly eager to render us a service, was sent on in advance with a picked force, and dispersed the undisciplined

selves to a liberal education, and with such hos-

tages he proposed to unite in his cause their parents and kinsfolk He also distributed among the youth arms which he had had secretly manufactured There were forty thousand, one fifth armed like our legionaries, the rest had spears and knives and other weapons used in the chase

ill adapted for inflicting wounds, they were impenetrable to them This army was continually increased, not yet by any open combination of the neighbouring states but by zealous individual enthusiasm, as well as by strife between the Roman generals each of whom claimed the war for himself Varro after a while, as he was infirm and aged, yielded to Silius who was in his prime

44 At Rome meanwhile people said that it

rumour's usual exaggeration All good men were saddened by anxiety for the country, but many in their loathing of the present system

the Senate? We have at last found men to check those murderous missives by the sword Even war is a good exchange for a miserable peace" Tiberius all the more studiously assumed an air of unconcern He changed neither his resi

unimportant and much more insignificant than the rumours represented?

45 Silius meantime was advancing with two legions, and having sent forward some auxiliary troops was ravaging those villages of the Sequani, which, situated on the border, adjoin the Ædui and were associated with them in arms He then pushed on by forced marches to Au

face to face that will be enough for victory" Twelve miles from Augustodunum they saw before them Sacrovir and his army in an o

plain His men in armour he had posted in the van his l

disasters they had

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any ed for encouragement, exclaimed again and again that it was a shame to the conquerors of Germany to have to be led against Gauls, as against an enemy Only the other day the rebel Turoni had been discomfited by a single cohort, the Treveri by one
Seq
Pro
they wealth and luxury, the more unwarlike are they, but spare them when they flee "

Then there was a deafening cheer, the cavalry threw itself on the flanks, and the infantry charged the van On the wings there was but a brief resistance The men in mail were somewhat of an obstacle, as the iron plates did not yield to javelins or swords, but our men, snatching up hatchets and pickaxes, hacked at their bodies and their armour as if they were battering a wall Some beat down the unwieldy mass with pikes and forked poles, and they were left lying on the ground, without an effort to rise, like dead men Sacrovir

house There by his own hand he fell, and his comrades by mutually inflicted wounds The house was fired over their heads, and with it they were all consumed

47 Then at last Tiberius informed the Senate by letter of the

ernment Now, as he was not influenced by fear, he would go to examine and settle matters

The Senate decreed vows for his safe ret

, declaring that he was not so destitute of renown as after having subdued the most savage nations and received or refused so many triumphs in his youth, to covet now that he was old an unmeaning honour for a tour in the neighbourhood of Rome

48 About the same time he requested the Senate to let the death of Sulpicius Quirinus be celebrated with a public funeral With the old patrician family of the Sulpicii this Quirinus, who was born in the town of Lanuvium, was quite unconnected An indefatigable soldier, he had by his zealous services won the consulship under the Divine Augustus, and subsequently the honours of a triumph for having stormed some fortresses of the Homonadenses in Cilicia He was also appointed adviser to Caius Cæsar in the government of Armenia, and had likewise paid court to Tiberius, who was then at Rhodes The emperor now made

us, whom he charged with encouraging Caius Cæsar
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emperor, was fastened on by an informer, and charged with having composed another during the

that she had heard not a word But those who criminated him fatally were rather believed, and on the motion of Haterius Agrippa, the consul-elect, the last penalty was invoked on the accused

50 Marcus Lepidus spoke against the sentence as follows —"Senators, if we look to the single fact of the infamous utterance with which Lutorius has polluted his own mind and the ears of the public, neither dungeon nor halter nor tortures fit for a slave would be punishment enough for him. But though vice and wicked deeds have no limit, penalties and correctives are moderated by the clemency of the sovereign and by the precedents of your ancestors and yourselves. Folly differs from wickedness, evil words from evil deeds, and thus there is room for a sentence by which this offence may not go unpunished, while we shall have no cause to regret either leniency or severity Often have I heard our emperor complain when any one has anticipated his mercy by a self inflicted

are as empty and ephemeral as they are replete

lawed That is my proposal, just as though he were convicted under the law of treason "

51. Only one of the ex-consuls, Rubellius Blandus, supported Lepidus The rest voted

resolution that their decrees should not be registered in the treasury till nine days had expired, and so much respite was to be given to condemned persons Still the Senate had not liberty to alter their purpose, and lapse of time never softened Tiberius.

52 Caius Sulpicius and Didius Haterius were the next consuls It was a year free from commotions abroad, while at home stringent legislation was apprehended against the luxury which had reached boundless excess in everything on which wealth is lavished Some expenses, though very serious, were generally kept secret by a concealment of the real prices, but the costly preparations for gluttony and dissipation were the theme of incessant talk, and had suggested a fear that a prince who clung to old-fashioned frugality would be too stern in his reforms In fact, when the ædile Caius Bibulus broached the topic, all his colleagues had pointed out that the sumptuary laws were disregarded, that prohibited prices for household articles were every day on the increase, and that moderate measures could not stop the evil

hurtful to the State, also, how undignified it would be to meddle with what he could not succeed in, or what, if effected, would necessitate the disgrace and infamy of men of distinction, at last addressed a letter to the Senate to the following purport —

53 Perhaps in any other matter, Senators, it would be more convenient that I should be consulted in your presence, and then state what I think to be for the public good In this debate it was better that my eyes should not be on you, for while you were noting the anxious faces of individual senators charged with shameful lux

to let alone vices so strong and so matured,

their duty, as I would wish all other officials likewise to fulfil their parts For myself, it is

54 I am not unaware that people at entertainments and social gatherings condemn all this and demand some restriction But if a law

safe from incrimination Yet as even bodily disorders of long standing and growth can be checked only by sharp and painful treatment, so the fever of a diseased mind, itself polluted and a pollution to others, can be quenched only by remedies as strong as the passions which inflame it Of the many laws devised by our ancestors, of the many passed by the Divine Au- [illegible] one craves something not yet forbidden, there is a fear that it may be forbidden, but when people once transgress prohibitions with impunity, there is no longer any fear or any shame

Why then in old times was economy in the ascendant? Because every one practised self-control, because we were all members of one city Nor even afterwards had we the same temptations, while our dominion was confined to Italy. Victories over the foreigner taught us how to waste the substance of others, victories over ourselves, how to squander our own What a paltry matter is this of which the ædiles are reminding us! What a mere trifle if you look at everything else! No one represents to the Senate that Italy requires supplies from abroad, and that the very existence of the people of Rome is daily at the mercy of uncertain waves and storms And unless masters, slaves, and estates have the resources of the provinces as their mainstay, our shrubberies, forsooth, and our country houses will have to support us

Such, Senators, are the anxieties which the prince has to sustain, and the neglect of them will be utter ruin to the State The cure for other evils must be sought in our own hearts. Let us be led to amendment, the poor by constraint, the rich by satiety Or if any of our officials give promise of such energy and strictness as can stem the corruption, I praise the man, and I confess that I am relieved of a portion of my burdens But if they wish to denounce vice, and when they have gained credit for so doing they arouse resentments and leave them to me, be assured, Senators, that I too am [illegible] cline such as are unmeaning and purposeless and will be of use neither to myself nor to you

55 When they had heard the emperor's letter, the ædiles were excused from so anxious a task, and that luxury of the table which from the close of the war ended at Actium to the armed revolution in which Servius Galba rose to empire, had been practised with profuse expenditure, gradually went out of fashion It is as well that I should trace the causes of this change

Formerly rich or highly distinguished noble families often sank into ruin from a passion for splendour Even then men were still at liberty to court and be courted by the city populace, by our allies and by foreign princes, and every one who from his wealth, his mansion and his establishment was conspicuously grand, gained too proportionate lustre by his name and his numerous *clientele* After the savage massacres in which greatness of renown was fatal, the survivors turned to wiser ways The new men who were often admitted into the Senate from the towns, colonies and even the provinces, introduced their household thrift, and though many of them by good luck or energy attained an old age of wealth, still their former tastes remained But the chief encourager of strict manners was Vespasian, himself old fashioned both in his dress and diet Henceforth a respectful feeling towards the prince and a love of emulation proved more efficacious than legal penalties or terrors Or possibly there is in all things a kind of cycle, and there may be moral revolutions [illegible] and culture for posterity to imitate May we still keep up with our ancestors a rivalry in all that is honourable!

56 Tiberius having gained credit for forbearance by the check he had given to the grow- [illegible] vised as a designation of supremacy, so that without assuming the name of king or dictator he might have some title to mark his elevation above all other authority He then chose Marcus Agrippa to be his associate in this power, and on Agrippa's death, Tiberius Nero, that there might be no uncertainty as to the succession In this manner he thought to check the perverse ambition of others, while he had confidence in Nero's moderation and in his own greatness

Following this precedent, Tiberius now placed Drusus next to the throne, though while Germanicus was alive he had maintained an impartial attitude towards the two princes However in the beginning of his letter he implored heaven to prosper his plans on behalf of

the State, and then added a few remarks, without falsehood or exaggeration, on the character of the young prince He had, he reminded them, a wife and three children, and his age was the same as that at which he had himself been formerly summoned by the Divine Augustus to undertake this duty Nor was it a precipitate step, it was only after an experience of eight years, after having quelled mutinies and settled wars, after a triumph and two consulships, that he was adopted as a partner in trials already familiar to him

57 The senators had anticipated this message and hence their flattery was the more elaborate But they could devise nothing but voting statues of the two princes, shrines to certain deities, temples, arches and the usual routine, except that Marcus Silanus sought to honour the princes by a slur on the consulate, and proposed that on all monuments, public or private, should be inscribed, to mark the date, the names, not of the consuls, but of those who were holding the tribunitian power Quintus

some sycophancy

58 Meantime Junius Blæsus received an extension of his government of Africa, and Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter, demanded to have Asia allotted to him "It was," he asserted, "a popular error that it was not lawful for the priests of Jupiter to leave Italy, in fact, his own legal position differed not from that of the priests of Mars and of Quirinus If these latter had provinces allotted to them, why was it forbidden to the priests of Jupiter? There were no resolutions of the people or anything to be found in the books of ceremonies on the subject Pontiffs had often performed the rites to Jupiter when his priest was hindered by illness or by public duty For seventy five years after the suicide of Cornelius Merula no successor to his office had been appointed, yet religious rites

parative ease might he be absent for one year s proconsulate? That these priests in former days were prohibited by the pontiffs from going into the provinces, was the result of private feuds Now, thank heaven the supreme pontiff was also the supreme man, and was influenced by no rivalry, hatred or personal feeling"

59 As the augur Lentulus and others argued on various grounds against this view, the result was that they awaited the decision of the supreme pontiff Tiberius deferred any investigation into the priest s legal position, but he modified the ceremonies which had been decreed in honour of Drusus s tribunitian power with special censure on the extravagance of the proposed inscription in gold, so contrary to nation-

There is a war, forsooth, or he is kept from us in some remote part of the world Why, at this very moment, he is on a tour amid the shores and lakes of Campania Such is the training of

tution by referring to its investigation certain demands of the provinces In the Greek cities license and impunity in establishing sanctuaries were on the increase Temples were thronged with the vilest of the slaves, the same refuge screened the debtor against his creditor, as well as men suspected of capital offences No author

services to the Roman people It was a grand spectacle on that day, when the Senate examined grants made by our ancestors, treaties with allies, even decrees of kings who had flourished before Rome's ascendancy, and the forms of

grove Ortygia, where Latona, as she leaned in the pangs of labour on an olive still standing,

mission of Hercules, when he was subduing

then by ourselves

62 Next the people of Magnesia relied on arrangements made by Lucius Scipio and Lucius

of Aphrodisia produced a decree of the dictator Cæsar for their old services to his party, and those of Stratonicea, one lately passed by the Divine Augustus, in which they were commended for having endured the Parthian invasion without wavering in their loyalty to the Roman people Aphrodisia maintained the worship of Venus, Stratonicea that of Jupiter and of Diana of the Cross Ways

Hierocæsarea went back to a higher antiquity, and spoke of having a Persian Diana, whose fane was consecrated in the reign of Cyrus They quoted too the names of Perperna Isauricus, and many other generals who had conceded the same sacred character not only to the temple but to its precincts for two miles Then came the Cyprians on behalf of three shrines, the oldest of which had been set up by their founder Aerias to the Paphian Venus, the second by his son Amathus to Venus of Amathus, and the last to Jupiter of Salamis, by Teucer when he fled from the wrath of his father Telamon

63 Audience was also given to embassies from other states The senators wearied by their multiplicity and seeing the party spirit that was being roused, intrusted the inquiry to the consuls, who were to sift each title and see if it involved any abuse, and then refer back the entire matter to the Senate Besides the states al

For example, the people of Smyrna quoted an oracle of Apollo, which had commanded them to dedicate a temple to Venus Stratonicis, and the islanders of Tenos, an utterance from the same deity, bidding them consecrate a statue and a fane to Neptune Sardis preferred a more

manded a like privilege for a statue of the Divine Augustus Decrees of the Senate were passed, which though very respectful, still prescribed certain limits, and the petitioners were directed to set up bronze tablets in each temple, to be a sacred memorial and to restrain them from sinking into selfish aims under the mask of religion

64 About this time Julia Augusta had an alarming illness, which compelled the emperor to hasten his return to Rome, for hitherto there had been a genuine harmony between the mother and son, or a hatred well concealed Not long before, for instance, Julia in dedicating a statue to the Divine Augustus near the theatre of Marcellus had inscribed the name of Tiberius below her own, and it was surmised that the

gustal Brotherhood Lucius Apronius moved

were included expressly because their sacred office was specially attached to the family for which vows were being performed "

65 My purpose is not to relate at length every motion, but only such as were conspicuous for excellence or notorious for infamy This I regard as history s highest function, to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold out the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds So corrupted indeed and debased was that age by sycophancy that not only the foremost citizens who were forced to save their grandeur by servility, but every ex consul, most of the ex prætors and a host of inferior senators would rise in eager rivalry to propose shameful and preposterous motions

Tradition says that Tiberius as often as he left the Senate House used to exclaim in Greek, 'How ready these men are to be slaves" Clearly, even he, with his dislike of public freedom, was disgusted at the abject abasement of his creatures

66 From unseemly flatteries they passed by degrees to savage acts Caius Silanus, pro-consul of Asia, was accused by our allies of extortion, whereupon Mamercus Scaurus, an ex-consul, Junius Otho, a prætor, Brutidius Niger, an ædile, simultaneously fastened on him and charged him with sacrilege to the divinity of Augustus, and contempt of the majesty of Tiberius, while Mamercus Scaurus quoted old precedents, the prosecutions of Lucius Cotta by Scipio Africanus, of Servius Galba by Cato the Censor and of Publius Rutilius by Scaurus As if indeed Scipio's and Cato's vengeance fell on such offences, or that of the famous Scaurus, whom his great grandson, a blot on his ancestry, this Mamercus was now disgracing by his infamous occupation. Junius Otho's old employment had been the keeping of a prepara- [illegible]

[illegible]

complishments, and was sure, had he pursued a path of virtue, to reach the most brilliant distinction, was goaded on by an eager impatience, while he strove to outstrip his equals, then his superiors, and at last even his own aspirations Many have thus perished, even good men, despising slow and safe success and hurrying on [illegible]

[illegible]

adverse Senators there were the most accomplished orators of all Asia, who, as such, had been retained for the prosecution, and to these he had to reply alone, without any experience in pleading, and under that personal apprehension which is enough to paralyse even the most practised eloquence. For Tiberius did not refrain from pressing him with angry voice and look, himself putting incessant questions, without allowing him to rebut or evade them, and he had often even to make admissions, that the questions might not have been asked in vain His slaves too were sold by auction to the

[illegible]

few days respite, and at last abandoned his defence, after venturing on a memorial to the emperor, in which he mingled reproach and entreaty.

68 Tiberius, that his proceedings against Silanus might find some justification in precedent, ordered the Divine Augustus's indictment of Volesus Messala, also a proconsul of Asia, and the Senate's sentence on him to be read He [illegible]

[illegible]

The rest concurred, with the exception of Cneius Lentulus, who, with the assent of Tiberius, proposed that the property of Silanus's mother, as she was very different from him, should be exempted from confiscation, and given to the son

69 Cornelius Dolabella however, by way of carrying flattery yet further, sharply censured the morals of Silanus, and then moved that no one of disgraceful life and notorious infamy [illegible]

[illegible]

province quite otherwise than was hoped or [illegible]

[illegible]

ings of others Laws are ordained to meet facts, inasmuch as the future is uncertain. It was the rule of our ancestors that, whenever there was first an offence, some penalty should follow Let us not revolutionise a wisely devised and ever approved system Princes have enough [illegible]

[illegible]

Such constitutional sentiments were so rare with Tiberius, that they were welcomed all the heartier joy Knowing, as he [illegible]

be forbearing, when he was not under the stimulus of personal resentment, he further said that Gyarus was a dreary and uninhabited island, and that, as a concession to the Junian family [illegible]

Torquata, Silanus's sister, a vestal of primitive purity The motion was carried after a division

70 Audience was next given to the people of Cyrene, and on the prosecution of Ancharius Priscus, Cæsius Cordus was convicted of extortion Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, was accused of treason, for having converted a statue of the emperor to the common use of silver plate, but the emperor forbade his being put upon his trial, though Ateius Capito openly remonstrated, with a show of independence "The Senate," he said, "ought not to have wrested from it the power of deciding a ques [illegible]

generous in the case of wrongs to the commonwealth " Tiberius interpreted the remark according to its drift rather than its mere expression and persisted in his veto Capito s disgrace was the more conspicuous for, versed as he was *in the science of law, human and divine he had* now dishonoured a brilliant public career as well as a virtuous private life

[illegible]

Augusta Although that Goddess had several shrines in Rome, there was none with this special designation It was ascertained that there was a temple so called at Antium and that all sacred rites in the towns of Italy as well as temples and images of deities were under the jurisdiction and authority of Rome Accordingly the offering was placed at Antium

As religious questions were under discussion, the emperor now produced his answer to Servius Maluginensis, Jupiter's priest, which he had [illegible]

pontiff s permission, be absent more than two nights, provided it was not during the days of public sacrifice or more than twice in the same year This regulation of the emperor Augustus sufficiently proved that a year's absence and a provincial government were not permitted to the priests of Jupiter There was also cited the precedent of Lucius Metellus, supreme pontiff, who had detained at Rome the priest Aulus Postumius And so Asia was allotted to the ex consul next in seniority to Maluginensis

72 About the same time Lepidus asked the *Senate's leave to restore and embellish, at his* own expense, the basilica of Paulus, that monument of the Æmilian family Public spirited [illegible]

the admiration of posterity Following these examples, Lepidus, though possessed of a moderate fortune, now revived the glory of his ancestors

Pompeius's theatre, which had been destroyed [illegible]

name was to be retained At the same time he highly extolled Sejanus on the ground that it was through his exertions and vigilance that such fury of the flames had been confined to the destruction of a single building The Senate voted Sejanus a statue, which was to be placed in Pompeius s theatre And soon afterwards the emperor in honouring Junius Blæsus, proconsul of Africa with triumphal distinctions, said that he granted them as a compliment to Sejanus, whose uncle Blæsus was

[illegible] for himself and his army, or else threatening us with an interminable war Never, it is [illegible]

[illegible] Even Spartacus when he had destroyed so many consular armies and was burn [illegible]

out to the other rebels the prospect of laying down their arms without hurt to themselves, while he was by any means to secure the person of the chief Many surrendered themselves on the strength of this amnesty Before long

the tactics of Tacfarinas were encountered in a similar fashion

74 Unequal to us in solid military strength, but better in a war of surprises he would at tack, would elude pursuit, and still arrange ambuscades with a multitude of detachments And so we prepared three expeditions and as many columns One of the three under the com mand of Cornelius Scipio, Blæsus s lieutenant, was to stop the enemy's forays on the Leptitani and his retreat to the Garamantes In another quarter, Blæsus's son led a separate force of his own, to save the villages of Cirta from being ravaged with impunity Between the two was the general himself with some picked troops

Roman soldiers was in his face, or on his flank, or frequently in the rear Many were thus slain or surprised

Blæsus then further divided his triple army into several detachments under the command of centurions of tried valour At the end of the summer he did not, as was usual, withdraw his troops and let them rest in winter quarters in the old province, but, forming a chain of forts, as though he were on the threshold of a cam paign, he drove Tacfarinas by flying columns well acquainted with the desert, from one set of huts to another, till he captured the chief's brother, and then returned, too soon however for the welfare of our allies, as there yet re mained those who might renew hostilities

Tiberius however considered the war as fin ished, and awarded Blæsus the further distinc tion of being hailed 'Imperator by the legions, an ancient honour conferred on generals who for good service to the State were saluted with cheers of joyful enthusiasm by a victorious army Several men bore the title at the same time, without pre-eminence above their fellows Augustus too granted the name to certain per sons and now, for the last time, Tiberius gave it to Blæsus

75 Two illustrious men died that year One was Asinius Saloninus, distinguished as the grandson of Marcus Agrippa, and Asinius Pol lio, as the brother of Drusus and the intended husband of the emperor's granddaughter The other was Capito Ateius already mentioned, who had won a foremost position in the State by his legal attainments though his grand father was but a centurion in Sulla's army, his father having been a prætor He was prema turely advanced to the consulship by Augustus, so that he might be raised by the honour of this promotion above Labeo Antistius, a conspicu ous member of the same profession That age indeed produced at one time two brilliant orna ments of peace But while Labeo was a man of sturdy independence and consequently of wider fame, Capito's obsequiousness was more accept able to those in power Labeo, because his pro-

76 Junia too, the niece of Cato, wife of Caius Cassius and sister of Marcus Brutus, died this year, the sixty fourth after the battle of Phil ippi Her will was the theme of much popular criticism, for with her vast wealth, after hav ing honourably mentioned almost every noble man by name she passed over the emperor Ti berius took the omission graciously, and d d not forbid a panegyric before the Rostra with the other customary funeral honours The busts of twenty most illustrious families were borne in the procession with the names of Manlius, Quinctius, and others of equal rank But Cas sius and Brutus outshone them all, from the very fact that their likenesses were not to be seen

## BOOK IV, A D 23–28

manicus s death a happy incident Suddenly for tune deranged everything, the emperor became a cruel tyrant, as well as an abettor of cruelty in others Of this the cause and origin was Ælius

at power

Born at Vulsinii, the son of Seius Strabo, a Roman knight, he attached himself in his early youth to Caius Cæsar, grandson of the Divine Augustus, and the story went that he had sold

that he was c

en's wrath against Rome, to whose welfare his elevation and his fall were alike disastrous He had a body which could endure hardships, and a

hypocritically assumed for the attainment of sovereignty

2 He strengthened the hitherto moderate powers of his office by concentrating the cohorts

strength might give confidence to themselves, whilst it would strike terror into the citizens His

as the camp was completed, he crept gradually into the affections of the soldiers by mixing with them and addressing them by name, himself selecting the centurions and tribunes With the Senate too he sought to ingratiate himself, distinguishing his partisans with offices and provinces, Tiberius readily yielding and being so biassed that not only in private conversation but before the senators and the people he spoke highly of him as the partner of his toils, and allowed his statues to be honoured in theatres, in forums, and at the head quarters of our legions

3 There were however obstacles to his ambition in the imperial house with its many princes, a son in youthful manhood and grown up grandsons As it would be unsafe to sweep off such a number at once by violence, while craft would necessitate successive intervals in crime, he chose, on the whole, the stealthier way, and to begin with Drusus, against whom he had the

Augustus, the daughter in law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, for a provincial paramour, foully disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her descendants, giving up honour and a sure position for prospects as base as they were uncertain They took into their confidence Eudemus, Livia's friend and physician, whose profession was a pretext for frequent secret interviews Sejanus, to avert his mistress's jealousy, divorced his wife Apicata, by whom he had had three children Still the magnitude of the crime caused fear and delay, and sometimes a conflict of plans

disposed or at least not unfriendly towards the lads And now the old plan, so often insincerely broached, of a progress through the provinces, was again discussed The emperor's pretext was the number of veterans on the eve of discharge and the necessity of fresh levies for the army Volunteers were not forthcoming, and even if they were sufficiently numerous, they had not the same bravery and discipline, as it is chiefly the needy and the homeless who adopt by their own choice a soldier's life Tiberius also rapidly enumerated the legions and the provinces which

the limits of our empire

5 Italy on both seas was guarded by fleets, at Misenum and at Ravenna, and the contiguous coast of Gaul by ships of war captured in the victory of Actium and sent by Augustus powerfully manned to the town of Forojulium But our chief strength was on the Rhine, as a defence alike against Germans and Gauls, and numbered

with Syria, all within the entire tract of country

greatness was a protection against any foreign power. Thrace was held by Rhœmetalces and the *children of Cotys; the bank of the Danube by* two legions in Pannonia, two in Mœsia, and two also were stationed in Dalmatia, which, from the situation of the country, were in the rear of the other four, and, should Italy suddenly require aid, not too distant to be summoned But the capital was garrisoned by its own special soldiery, three city, nine prætorian cohorts, levied for the most part in Etruria and Umbria, or ancient Latium and the old Roman colonies There

they moved from place to place as circumstances required, and had their numbers increased and sometimes diminished.

6 It is however, I think, a convenient opportunity for me to review the hitherto prevailing methods of administration in the other departments of the State, inasmuch as that year brought with it the beginning of a change for the worse in Tiberius's policy. In the first place, public business and the most important private mat-

it be clearly seen that there were no better men to choose The consul and the prætor retained their prestige, inferior magistrates exercised their authority, the laws too, with the single exception of cases of treason, were properly enforced

As to the duties on corn, the indirect taxes and other branches of the public revenue, they were in the hands of companies of Roman knights The emperor intrusted his own property to men

to counteract barren soils and stormy seas with every resource of wealth and foresight And he was also careful not to distress the provinces by new burdens, and to see that in bearing the old they were safe from any rapacity or oppression on the part of governors Corporal punishments and confiscations of property were unknown

7 The emperor had only a few estates in Italy, slaves on a moderate scale, and his household was confined to a few freedmen If ever he had a dispute with a private person, it was decided in the law courts All this, not indeed with any graciousness, but in a blunt fashion which often alarmed, he still kept up, until the death of Drusus changed everything While he lived, the system continued, because Sejanus, as yet only in

a stranger was invited to assist in the govern-

rupted, were betrayed

8 Sejanus accordingly thought that he must be prompt, and chose a poison the gradual working of which might be mistaken for a natural

because he was not afraid, or to show his strength of mind, and even in the interval between his death and funeral Seeing the consuls, in token of their grief, sitting on the ordinary benches, he reminded them of their high office and of their proper place, and when the Senate burst into tears, suppressing a groan, he revived their spirits with a fluent speech "He knew indeed that he might be reproached for thus encountering the gaze of the Senate after so recent an af-

Then deploring the ext

the childhood of his grandsons, and his own declining years, he begged the Senate to summon Germanicus's children, the only comfort under their present misery The consuls went out, and having encouraged the young princes with kind words, brought them in and presented them to the emperor Taking them by the hand he said ' Senators, when these boys lost their father, I committed them to their uncle, and begged him, though he had children of his own, to cherish and rear them as his own offspring, and train them for himself and for posterity Drusus is now lost to us, and I turn my prayers to you, and before heaven and your country I adjure you to receive into your care and guidance the great grandsons of Augustus, descendants of a most noble ancestry So fulfil your duty and mine To you, Nero and Drusus, these senators are as fathers Such is your birth that your prosperity and adversity must alike affect the State "

[illegible]

republic, and the wish that the consuls or some one else might undertake the government, and thus destroyed belief even in what was genuine and noble

The same honours were decreed to the memory of Drusus as to that of Germanicus, and many more were added Such is the way with flattery, when repeated The funeral with its procession of statues was singularly grand Aeneas, the father of the Julian house, all the Al [illegible]

train

10 In relating the death of Drusus I have followed the narrative of most of the best historians But I would not pass over a rumour of the time, the strength of which is not even yet exhausted Sejanus, it is said, having seduced Livia [illegible]

and, whispering an accusation against Drusus of intending to poison his father, warned Tiberius to avoid the first draught offered him as he was dining at his son's house Thus deceived, the old emperor, on sitting down to the banquet, took the cup and handed it to Drusus His suspicions were increased when Drusus, in perfect unconsciousness, drank it off with youthful eagerness, apparently, out of fear and shame, bringing on himself the death which he had plotted against his father

11 These popular rumours, over and above the fact that they are not vouched for by any good writer, may be instantly refuted For who, with moderate prudence, far less Tiberius with [illegible]

rather have had the slave who handed the poison, tortured, have sought to discover the traitor, in short, would have been as hesitating and tardy in the case of an only son hitherto unconvicted of any crime, as he was naturally even [illegible]

cured belief for any monstrous fiction, and rumour too always has a dreadful side in regard to the deaths of men in power Besides, the whole process of the crime was betrayed by Apicata, [illegible]

scrutinized and exaggerated My object in mentioning and refuting this story is, by a conspic [illegible]

12 Tiberius pronounced a panegyric on his son before the Rostra, during which the Senate [illegible]

and was no grief to the people, grew bold in wickedness, and, now that his first attempt had succeeded, speculated on the possibility of destroying the children of Germanicus whose succession to the throne was a certainty There were three and poison could not be distributed among them, because of the singular fidelity of

their guardians and the unassailable virtue of

women to represent to the emperor that her pride as a mother and her reliance on popular enthusiasm were leading her to dream of empire Livia availed herself of the cunning of accusers, among whom she had selected Julius Postumus, a man well suited to her purpose, as

made her aged grandmother, whose nature it was to tremble for her power, irreconcilably hostile to her grandson's widow. Agrippina's friends too were induced to be always inciting her proud spirit by mischievous talk

13 Tiberius meanwhile, who did not relax his attention to business, and found solace in his work, occupied himself with the causes of

ted, as was also Caius Gracchus on the same

Lamia and Lucius Apronius, successive governors of Africa, the splendid fame of that ill starred family and the downfall of his father would have dragged him to ruin

14 This year too brought embassies from the Greek communities The people of Samos and Cos petitioned for the confirmation of the ancient right of sanctuary for the respective tem-

founded in Asia, had possession of the sea-coast Cos could boast equal antiquity, and it had an additional claim connected with the place Roman citizens had been admitted to the temple of Æsculapius, when king Mithridates ordered a general massacre of them throughout all the islands and cities of Asia

Next, after various and usually fruitless complaints from the prætors, the emperor finally brought forward a motion about the licentious behaviour of the players "They had often," he said, "sought to disturb the public peace, and to bring disgrace on private families, and the old Oscan farce, once a wretched amusement for the vulgar, had become at once so indecent and so popular, that it must be checked by the Senate's authority" The players, upon this, were banished from Italy

15 That same year also brought fresh sorrow to the emperor by being fatal to one of the twin sons of Drusus, equally too by the death of an intimate friend This was Lucilius Longus, the partner of all his griefs and joys, the only senator who had been the companion of his retirement in Rhodes And so, though he was a man of humble origin, the Senate decreed him a censor's funeral and a statue in the forum of Augustus at the public expense Everything indeed was as yet in the hands of the Senate, and consequently Lucilius Capito, procurator of Asia, who was impeached by his province, was tried by them, the emperor vehemently asserting "that he had merely given the man authority over the

ory of Germanicus fresh in their minds, imagined that it was his face they saw, his voice they heard The youth too had a modesty and a grace of person worthy of a prince, the more charming because of his peril from the notorious enmity of Sejanus

"the old custom to nominate together three patricians, sons of parents wedded accor

the primitive ceremony, and of these one was to be chosen Now however there was not the same choice as formerly, the primitive form of marriage having been given up or being observed only by a few persons" For this he assigned several reasons, the chief being men's and women's indifference; then, again, the ceremony itself had its difficulties, which were purposely avoided, and there was the objection that the man who obtained this priesthood was emanci- [illegible]

some remedy by a decree or a law, as Augustus had accommodated certain relics of a rude antiquity to the modern spirit

It was then decided, after a discussion of religious questions, that the institution of the priests of Jupiter should remain unchanged A law however was passed that the priestess, in regard to her sacred functions, was to be under the husband's control, but in other respects to re- [illegible]

tending to the ceremonial, a gift of two million sesterces was decreed to the Vestal Cornelia, chosen in the room of Scantia, and, whenever Augusta entered the theatre she was to have a place in the seats of the Vestals

17 In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, the pontiffs, whose example was followed by the other priests in offering prayers for the emperor's health, commended also Nero and Drusus to the same deities, not so much out of love for the young princes as out of sycophancy, the absence and excess of which in a corrupt age are alike dangerous Tiberius indeed, who was never friendly to the house of Germanicus, was then vexed beyond endurance at their youth being honoured equally with his declining years He summoned the pontiffs, and asked them whether it was to the entreaties or the threats of Agrippina that they had made this concession And though they gave a flat denial, he rebuked them but gently, for many of them were her own relatives or [illegible]

hemently, and charged them with rending the State almost by civil war "There were those," he said, "who called themselves the party of Agrippina, and, unless they were checked, there would be more; the only remedy for the increasing discord was the overthrow of one or two of the most enterprising leaders."

18 Accordingly he attacked Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus The friendship of Germanicus was fatal to both As for Silius, his having commanded a great army for seven years, and won in Germany the distinctions of a triumph for his success in the war with Sacrovir, would make his downfall all the more tremendous and so spread greater terror among others Many thought that he had provoked further displeasure by his own presumption and his extravagant boasts that his troops had been steadfastly loyal, [illegible]

own power, which seemed to be unequal to the burden of such an obligation For benefits received are a delight to us as long as we think we can requite them; when that possibility is far exceeded, they are repaid with hatred instead of gratitude

19 Silius had a wife, Sosia Galla, whose love of Agrippina made her hateful to the emperor The two, it was decided, were to be attacked, but Sabinus was to be put off for a time Varro, the consul, was let loose on them, who, under [illegible]

posed the request "It was usual," he argued, "for magistrates to bring a private citizen to trial, and a consul s authority ought not to be impaired, seeing that it rested with his vigilance to guard the commonwealth from loss" It was characteristic of Tiberius to veil new devices in wickedness under ancient names And so, with a solemn appeal, he summoned the Senate, as if there were any laws by which Silius was being tried, as if Varro were a real consul, or Rome a commonwealth The accused either said nothing, or, if he attempted to defend himself, hinted, not obscurely, at the person whose resentment was crushing him A long concealed complicity in Sacrovir's rebellion, a rapacity which sullied his victory, and his wife Sosia's conduct, were alleged against him Unquestionably, they could not extricate themselves from the charge of extortion The whole affair however was conducted as a trial for treason, and Silius forestalled impending doom by a self inflicted death

20 Yet there was a merciless confiscation of

his property, though not to refund their money to the provincials, none of whom pressed any demand But Augustus's bounty was wrested from him, and the claims of the imperial exchequer were computed in detail This was the first instance on Tiberius's part of sharp dealing with the wealth of others Sosia was banished on the motion of Asinius Gallus, who had proposed that half her estate should be confiscated, half left to the children Marcus Lepidus, on the contrary, was for giving a fourth to the prosecutors, as the law required, and the remainder to the children

This Lepidus, I am satisfied, was for that age a wise and high principled man Many a cruel suggestion made by the flattery of others he changed for the better, and yet he did not want tact, seeing that he always enjoyed an uniform prestige, and also the favour of Tiberius This compels me to doubt whether the liking of princes for some men and their antipathy to others depend, like other contingencies, on a fate and destiny to which we are born, or, to some degree, on our own plans, so that it is possible to pursue a course between a defiant independence and a debasing servility, free from ambition and its perils Messalinus Cotta, of equally illustrious ancestry as Lepidus, but wholly dif

their wives' offences in the provinces as much as for their own

21 Proceedings were then taken against Calpurnius Piso, a high-spirited nobleman He it was, as I have related, who had exclaimed more than once in the Senate that he would quit Rome

the time not ungraciously, but the remembrance of it was vividly impressed on a mind which

poison in his house and wore a dagger whenever he came into the Senate This was passed over as too atrocious to be true He was to be tried on the other charges, a multitude of which were heaped on him, but his timely death cut short the trial

Next was taken the case of Cassius Severus, an exile A man of mean origin and a life of crime, but a powerful pleader, he had brought on himself, by his persistent quarrelsomeness, a decision of the Senate, under oath, which banished him to Crete There by the same practices he drew on himself, fresh odium and revived the old, stripped of his property and outlawed, he wore out his old age on the rock of Seriphos

22 About the same time Plautius Silvanus, the prætor, for unknown reasons, threw his wife Apronia out of a window When summoned before the emperor by Lucius Apronius, his father in law, he replied incoherently, representing that he was in a sound sleep and consequently knew nothing, and that his wife had chosen to destroy herself Without a moment's delay Tiberius went to the house and inspected the chamber, where were seen the marks of her struggling and of her forcible ejection He reported this to the Senate, and as soon as judges had been appointed, Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent her grandson a dagger This was thought equivalent to a hint from the emperor, because of the known intimacy between Augusta and Urgulania The accused

Former generals, when they thought that their successes were enough to insure them triumphal distinctions, left the enemy to himself There were now in Rome three laurelled statues, and yet Tacfarinas was still ravaging Africa, strengthened by reinforcements from the Moors, who, under the boyish and careless rule of Ptolemæus, Juba's son, had chosen war in preference to the despotism of freedmen and slaves He had the king of the Garamantes to receive his plunder and to be the partner of his raids, not indeed with a regular army, but with detachments of light troops whose strength, as they came

of war

were gradually retiring from Africa, and that the rest might be cut off by a strong effort on the part of all who loved freedom more than slavery He thus augmented his force, and having formed a camp, he besieged the town of Thubuscum Dolabella meanwhile collecting all the troops on the spot, raised the siege at his first approach, by the terror of the Roman name and because the Numidians cannot stand against the charge of infantry He then fortified suitable positions, and at the same time beheaded some chiefs of the Musulamii, who were on the verge of rebellion Next, as several expeditions against Tacfarinas had proved the uselessness of following up the enemy's desultory movements with the attack of heavy troops from a single point, he summoned to his aid king Ptolemæus and his people, and equipped four columns, under the command of his lieutenants and tribunes Marauding parties were also led by picked Moors, Dolabella in person directing every operation

25 Soon afterwards news came that the Numidians had fixed their tents and encamped near a half-demolished fortress, by name Auzea, to which they had themselves formerly set fire, and on the position of which they relied, as it was inclosed by vast forests Immediately the light infantry and cavalry, without knowing whither they were being led, were hurried along at quick march. Day dawned, and with the sound of trumpets and fierce shouts, they were on the half asleep barbarians, whose horses were [illegible]

[illegible] terly surprised, without arms, order, or plan, were seized, slaughtered, or captured like cattle The infuriated soldiers, remembering their hardships and how often the longed for conflict had been eluded, sated themselves to a man with vengeance and bloodshed The word went through the companies that all were to aim at securing Tacfarinas, whom, after so many battles, they knew well, as there would be no rest from war except by the destruction of the enemy's leader Tacfarinas, his guards slain round him, his son a prisoner, and the Romans bursting on him from every side, rushed on the darts, and by a death which was not unavenged, escaped captivity.

26 This ended the war. Dolabella asked for triumphal distinctions, but was refused by Tiberius, out of compliment to Sejanus, the glory of whose uncle Blæsus he did not wish to be forgotten But this did not make Blæsus more famous, while the refusal of the honour heightened Dolabella's renown He had, in fact, with a smaller army, brought back with him illustrious prisoners and the fame of having slain the enemy's leader and terminated the war. In his train were envoys from the Garamantes, a rare spectacle in Rome The nation, in its terror at the destruction of Tacfarinas, and innocent of any guilty intention, had sent them to crave pardon of the Roman people And now that this war had proved the zealous loyalty of Ptolemæus, a custom of antiquity was revived, and one of the Senators was sent to present him with an ivory sceptre and an embroidered robe, gifts anciently bestowed by the Senate, and to confer on him the titles of king, ally, and friend

27 The same summer, the germs of a slave war in Italy were crushed by a fortunate accident The originator of the movement was Titus Curtisius, once a soldier of the prætorian guard First, by secret meetings at Brundisium and the neighbouring towns, then by placards publicly exhibited, he incited the rural and savage slave population of the remote forests to assert their freedom By divine providence, three vessels came to land for the use of those who traversed that sea In the same part of the country too was Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, who, according to ancient precedent, had had the charge of the "woodland pastures" assigned to him Putting in motion a force of marines, he broke up the seditious combination in its very first beginnings The emperor at once sent Staius, a tribune, with a strong detachment, by whom the ringleader himself, with his most daring followers, were brought prisoners to Rome where men already trembled at the vast scale of the slave-establishments, in which there was an immense growth, while the freeborn populace daily decreased

28 That same consulship witnessed a horrible instance of misery and brutality A father as defendant, a son as prosecutor, (Vibius Serenus was the name of both) were brought before the Senate, the father, dragged from exile in filth and squalor now stood in irons, while the son pleaded for his guilt With studious elegance of dress and cheerful looks, the youth, at once ac- [illegible]

[illegible] Cornutus, an ex prætor, had furnished money. Cornutus, weary of anxiety and feeling that peril was equivalent to ruin, hastened to destroy himself. But the accused with fearless spirit,

looked his son in the face, shook his chains, and appealed to the vengeance of the gods, with a prayer that they would restore him to his exile, where he might live far away from such practices, and that, as for his son, punishment might sooner or later overtake him He protested too that Cornutus was innocent and that his terror was groundless, as would easily be perceived, if other names were given up, for he never would have plotted the emperor's murder and a revolution with only one confederate

29 Upon this the prosecutor named Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero, to the great confusion of the emperor, at finding a hostile rebellion and disturbance of the public peace charged on two leading men in the state, his own intimate friends, the first of whom was in extreme old age and the second in very feeble health They were, however, at once acquitted As for the father, his slaves were examined by torture, and the result was unfavourable to the accuser The man, maddened by remorse, and terror-stricken by the popular voice, which menaced him with the dungeon, the rock, or a parricide's doom, fled from Rome He was dragged back from Ravenna, and forced to go through the prosecution, during which Tiberius did not disguise the old grudge he bore the exile Serenus For after Libo's conviction, Serenus had sent the emperor a letter, upbraiding him for not having rewarded his special zeal in that trial, with further hints more insolent than could be safely trusted to the easily offended ears of a despot All this Tiberius revived eight years later, charging on him various misconduct during that interval, even though the examination by torture, owing to the obstinacy of the slaves, had contradicted his guilt.

30 The Senate then gave their votes that Serenus should be punished according to ancient precedent, when the emperor, to soften the odium of the affair, interposed with his veto Next, Gallus Asinius proposed that he should be confined in Gyaros or Donusa but this he rejected, on the ground that both these islands were deficient in water, and that he whose life was spared, ought to be allowed the necessaries of life And so Serenus was conveyed back to Amorgus.

In consequence of the suicide of Cornutus, it was proposed to deprive informers of their rewards whenever a person accused of treason put an end to his life by his own act before the completion of the trial The motion was on the point of being carried when the emperor, with a harshness contrary to his manner, spoke openly for the informers, complaining that the laws would be ineffective, and the State brought to the verge of ruin. "Better," he said, 'to subvert the constitution than to remove its guardians" Thus the informers, a class invented to destroy the commonwealth, and never enough controlled even by legal penalties, were stimulated by rewards

31 Some little joy broke this long succession of horrors Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was spared by the emperor, against whom he was convicted of having written libellous verses, at the intercession of his brother, who was a Senator Hence it seemed the more amazing that one who knew better things and the glory which waits on mercy, should prefer harsher courses He did not indeed err from dulness, and it is easy to see when the acts of a sovereign meet with genuine, and when with fictitious popularity And even he himself, though usually artificial in manner, and though his words escaped him with a seeming struggle, spoke out freely and fluently whenever he came to a man's rescue

In another case, that of Publius Suillius, formerly quæstor to Germanicus, who was to be expelled from Italy on a conviction of having received money for a judicial decision, he held that the man ought to be banished to an island, and so intensely strong was his feeling that he bound the Senate by an oath that this was a State necessity The act was thought cruel at the moment, but subsequently it redounded to his honour when Suillius returned from exile The next age saw him in tremendous power and a venal creature of the emperor Claudius, whose friendship he long used, with success, never for good

The same punishment was adjudged to Catus Firmius, a Senator, for having (it was alleged) assailed his sister with a false charge of treason Catus, as I have related, had drawn Libo into a snare and then destroyed him by an information Tiberius remembering this service, while he alleged other reasons, deprecated a sentence of exile, but did not oppose his expulsion from the Senate

32 Much of what I have related and shall have to relate may perhaps, I am aware, seem petty trifles to record But no one must compare my annals with the writings of those who have described Rome in old days They told of great wars, of the storming of cities, of the defeat and capture of kings, or whenever they turned by preference to home affairs, they related, with a free scope for digression, the strifes of consuls with tribunes, land and corn laws, and the struggles between the commons and the aristocr

My labours are circumscribed and inglorious, peace wholly unbroken or but slightly disturbed, dismal misery in the capital, an emperor careless about the enlargement of the empire, such is my theme Still it will not be useless to study those at first sight trifling events out of which the movements of vast changes often take their rise

33 All nations and cities are ruled by the people, the nobility, or by one man A constitution, formed by selection out of these elements, it is easy to commend but not to produce, or, if it is produced, it cannot be lasting Formerly, when the people had power or when the patricians were in the ascendant, the popular temper and the methods of controlling it, had to be studied, and those who knew most accurately the spirit of the Senate and aristocracy, had the credit of understanding the age and of being wise men So now, after a revolution, when Rome is nothing but the realm of a single despot, there must be good in carefully noting and recording this period, for it is but few who have the foresight to distinguish right from wrong or what is sound from what is hurtful, while most men learn wis [illegible] sent in succession the merciless biddings of a tyrant, incessant prosecutions, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence, the same causes issuing in the same results, and I am everywhere confronted by a wearisome monotony in my subject matter Then, again, an ancient historian has but few disparagers, and no one cares whether you praise more heartily the armies of Carthage or Rome But of many who endured punishment or disgrace under Tiberius, the descendants yet survive, or even though the families themselves may be now extinct, you will find those who, from a resemblance of character, imagine that the evil deeds of others are a reproach to themselves Again, even honour and virtue make enemies, condemning, as they do, their opposites by too close a contrast But I return to my work

34 In the year of the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned on a new charge, now for the first time heard He had published a history in which he had praised Marcus Brutus and called Caius Cassius the last of the Romans His accusers were Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta creatures of Sejanus This was enough to ruin the accused, and then too the emperor listened with an angry frown to his defence, which Cremutius, resolved to give up his life, began thus —

'It is my words, Senators, which are condemned, so innocent am I of any guilty act, yet these do not touch the emperor or the emperor s mother, who are alone comprehended under the law of treason I am said to have praised Brutus and Cassius, whose careers many have described and no one mentioned without eulogy Titus Livius pre-eminently famous for eloquence and truthfulness, extolled Cneius Pompeius in such a panegyric that Augustus called him Pompeianus and yet this was no obstacle to their friendship Scipio, Afranius, this very Cassius, this same Brutus, he nowhere describes as brigands and traitors, terms now applied to them, but repeatedly as illustrious men Asinius Pollio's writings too hand down a glorious memory of them, and Messala Corvinus used to speak with pride of Cassius as his general Yet both these men prospered to the end with wealth and preferment Again that book of Marcus Cicero in which he lauded Cato to the skies, how else was it answered by Cæsar the dictator, than by a written oration in reply, as if he was pleading in court? The letters of Antonius, the harangues of Brutus contain reproaches against Augustus, false indeed, but urged with powerful sarcasm, the poems which we read of Bibaculus and Catullus are crammed with invectives on the Cæsars Yet the Divine Julius, the Divine Augustus themselves bore all this and let it pass, whether in forbearance or in wisdom I cannot easily say Assuredly what is despised is soon forgotten, when you resent a thing, you seem to recognise it'

35 "Of the Greeks I say nothing, with them not only liberty, but even license went unpunished, or if a person aimed at chastising, he retaliated on satire by satire It has, however, always been perfectly open to us without any one to censure, to speak freely of those whom death has withdrawn alike from the partialities of hatred or esteem Are Cassius and Brutus now in arms on the fields of Philippi, and am I with them rousing the people by harangues to stir up civil war? Did they not fall more than seventy years ago, and as they are known to us by statues which even the conqueror did not destroy, so too is not some portion of their memory preserved for us by historians? To every man posterity gives his due honour, and, if a fatal sentence hangs over me, there will be those who will remember me as well as Cassius and Brutus'

He then left the Senate and ended his life by

starvation. His books, so the Senators decreed, were to be burnt by the aediles; but some copies were left which were concealed and afterwards published And so one is all the more inclined to laugh at the stupidity of men who suppose that the despotism of the present can actually efface

imitated their oppression, have merely procured infamy for themselves and glory for their victims

36 That year was such a continuous succession of prosecutions that on the days of the Lat-

accused of publicly neglecting the established worship of the Divine Augustus, and also of acts of violence to Roman citizens They were deprived of the franchise which they had earned during the war with Mithridates, when their city was besieged, and when they repulsed the king as much by their own bravery as by the aid of Lucullus. Then followed the acquittal of Fonteius Capito, the late proconsul of Asia, on proof that charges brought against him by Vibius Serenus were fictitious Still this did not injure Serenus, to whom public hatred was actually a protection Indeed any conspicuously restless informer was, so to say, inviolable, only the insignificant and undistinguished were punished

37 About the same time Further Spain sent a deputation to the Senate, with a request to be allowed, after the example of Asia, to erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother On this occasion,

ing speech —

"I am aware, Senators, that many deplore my want of firmness in not having opposed a similar recent petition from the cities of Asia I will therefore both explain the grounds of my previous silence and my intentions for the future. Inasmuch as the Divine Augustus did not forbid the founding of a temple at Pergamos to himself

pression of reverence towards the Senate. But though it may be pardonable to have allowed

flattery

38. "For myself, Senators, I am mortal and limited to the functions of humanity, content if I can adequately fill the highest place, of this I solemnly assure you, and would have posterity remember it. They will more than sufficiently honour my memory by believing me to have been worthy of my ancestry, watchful over your interests, courageous in danger, fearless of enmity, when the State required it These sentiments of your hearts are my temples, these my most glorious and abiding monuments Those built of stone are despised as mere tombs, if the

the first, that, when I die, they honour my career and the reputation of my name with praise and kindly remembrance "

Henceforth Tiberius even in private conversations persisted in showing contempt for such homage to himself Some attributed this to modesty, many to self-distrust, a few to a mean spirit. "The noblest men," it was said, "have the loftiest aspirations, and so Hercules and Bacchus

things princes have as a matter of course, one thing they ought insatiably to pursue, that their memory may be glorious For to despise fame is to despise merit "

39 Sejanus meanwhile, dazed by his extravagant prosperity and urged on too by a woman's

was one most glorious honour he had won, the reputation of being worthy of an alliance with a Cæsar This was the first motive of his ambition. As he had heard that Augustus, in marrying his daughter, had even entertained some thoughts of Roman knights, so if a husband were sought for Livia, he hoped Tiberius would bear in mind a friend who would find his reward simply in the glory of the alliance He did not wish to rid himself of the duties imposed on him, he thought it enough for his family to be secured against the unjust displeasure of Agrippina, and this for the sake of his children For, as for himself, enough and more than enough for him would be a life completed while such a sover- [illegible]

for impartial consideration, adding that while other men's plans depended on their ideas of their own interest, princes, who had to regulate their chief actions by public opinion, were in a different position "Hence," he said, "I do [illegible]

the same home, and that she has in her mother and grandmother counsellors nearer and dearer to her I will deal more frankly First, as to the enmity of Agrippina, I maintain that it will blaze out more fiercely if Livia's marriage rends, so to say, the house of the Cæsars into two factions Even as it is, feminine jealousies break out, and my grandsons are torn asunder by the strife What will happen if the rivalry is rendered more intense by such a marriage? For you are mistaken, Sejanus, if you think that you will then remain in the same position, and that Livia, who has been the wife of Caius [illegible]

have seen her brother, her father, and our an- [illegible]

many distracting cares, foreseeing too the immense elevation to which a man would be raised above others by such an alliance, he talked of Caius Proculeius and certain persons of singularly quiet life, wholly free from political entanglements? Still, if the hesitation of Augustus is to influence us, how much stronger is the fact that he bestowed his daughter on Marcus Agrippa, then on myself All this, as a friend, I have [illegible]

to unite you to myself, I shall for the present forbear to explain This only I will declare, that nothing is too grand to be deserved by your merits and your goodwill towards me. When an opportunity presents itself, either in the Senate, or in a popular assembly, I shall not be silent"

41 Sejanus, no longer thinking of his mar- [illegible]

strengthen the hands of accusers by admitting them, he made it his aim to induce Tiberius to live in some charming spot at a distance from Rome In this he foresaw several advantages Access to the emperor would be under his own control, and letters, for the most part being conveyed by soldiers, would pass through his hands Cæsar too, who was already in the decline of life, would soon, when enervated by retirement, more readily transfer to him the functions of empire, envy towards himself would be lessened when there was an end to his crowded levées and the reality of power would be increased by the removal of its empty show So he began to declaim against the laborious life of the capital, the bustling crowds and streaming multitudes, while he praised repose and solitude, with their freedom from vexations and misunderstandings, and their special opportunities for the study of the highest questions

42 It happened that the trial at this time of Votienus Montanus, a popular wit, convinced the hesitating Tiberius that he ought to shun all assemblies of the Senate, where speeches, often true and offensive, were flung in his very face. Votienus was charged with insulting expressions towards the emperor, and while the witness, Æmilius, a military man, in his eagerness to prove the case, repeated the whole story and amid angry clamour struggled on with loud assertion, Tiberius heard the reproaches by which

he was assailed in secret, and was so deeply impressed that he exclaimed that he would clear himself either at once or on a legal inquiry, and the entreaties of friends, with the flattery of the whole assembly, hardly restored his composure. As for Votienus, he suffered the penalty of treason, but the emperor, clinging all the more obstinately to the harshness with which he had been reproached in regard to accused persons, punished Aquilia with exile for the crime of adultery with Varius Ligur, although Lentulus Gætulicus, the consul-elect, had proposed that she should be sentenced under the Julian law [illegible]

43 Then a hearing was given to embassies from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians on the question of the temple of Diana in the Marshes The Lacedæmonians asserted that it had been dedicated by their ancestors and in their territory, and appealed to the records of their history and the hymns of poets, but it had been wrested from them, they said, by the arms of the Macedonian Philip, with whom they had fought, and subsequently restored by the decision of Caius Cæsar and Marcus Antonius The Messenians, [illegible] on of [illegible] ts of [illegible] helia (where the temple stood) had fallen to their king Records of this event still existed, engraven on stone and ancient bronze But if they were asked for the testimony of poetry and of history, they had it, they said, in greater abun- [illegible]

senians

Next the people of Segesta petitioned for the [illegible]

ceived with a similar privilege by the inhabitants of Massilia, and had left his property to their community, as being now his own country.

[illegible] consulship and his triumphal distinctions over the Gætuli, to have borne poverty with a good grace, then to have attained great wealth, which [illegible]

of Antonius and afterwards to that of Cæsar His grandfather had fallen in the battle of Pharsalia, fighting for the aristocracy. He had himself been chosen to be the husband of the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia, and subsequently led an army across the Elbe, penetrating further into Germany than any Roman before him For this achievement he gained triumphal honours

Lucius Antonius too then died, of a most il- [illegible] son he was, to the city of Massilia, where the name of exile might be masked under that of student Yet honour was paid him in death, and his bones, by the Senate's decree, were consigned to the sepulchre of the Octavii

45. While the same consuls were in office, an atrocious crime was committed in Nearer Spain by a peasant of the Termestine tribe Suddenly attacking the prætor of the province, Lucius Piso, as he was travelling in all the carelessness of peace, he killed him with a single wound He [illegible]

in vain to question him, his comrades might stand by and look on, but that the most intense [illegible]

zled, and he was pressing for its payment too rigorously for the patience of barbarians

46 In the consulship of Lentulus Gætulicus and Caius Calvisius, triumphal distinctions were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for a crushing defeat of some Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men Even native princes they would obey only according to their [illegible] if they sent aid, they used to ap- [illegible] against [illegible] ad it [illegible] [illegible]led [illegible] up arms, they sen[illegible] of their friendship and loyalty, which, they said, would continue if they were not tried by any fresh burden But if they were doomed to slavery as a conquered people, they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death As they spoke, they pointed to fortresses amid rocks whither they had conveyed their parents and their wives, and threatened us with a difficult, dangerous and sanguinary war

47 Sabinus meantime, while he was concentrating his troops returned gentle answers, but on the arrival of Pomponius Labeo with a legion from Mœsia and of king Rhœmetalces with some reinforcements from his subjects, who had not thrown off their allegiance, with these and the force he had on the spot, he advanced on the enemy, who were drawn up in some wooded defiles. Some ventured to show themselves on the open hills, these the Roman general approached in fighting order and easily dislodged them, with only a small slaughter of the barbarians, who had not far to flee. In this position he soon established a camp, and held with a strong detachment a narrow and unbroken mountain ridge, stretching as far as the next fortress, which was garrisoned by a large force of armed soldiers along with some irregulars Against the boldest of these, who after the manner of their country were disporting themselves with songs and dances in front of the rampart, he sent some picked archers, who, discharging distant volleys, inflicted many wounds without loss to themselves As they advanced, a sudden sortie put them to the rout, and they fell back on the support of a Sugambrian cohort, drawn up at no great distance by the Roman general, ready for any emergency and as terrible as the foe, with the noise of their war songs and the clashing of their arms.

48 He then moved his camp near to the enemy, leaving in his former entrenchments the Thracians who, as I have mentioned, were with us These had permission to ravage, burn, and plunder, provided they confined their forays to daylight, and passed the night securely and vigilantly in their camp This at first they strictly observed Soon they resigned themselves to enjoyment, and, enriched by plunder, they neglected their guards, and amid feasts and mirth sank down in the carelessness of the banquet, of sleep and of wine So the enemy, apprised of their heedlessness, prepared two detachments, one of which was to attack the plunderers, the other, to fall on the Roman camp, not with the hope of taking it, but to hinder the din of the other battle from being heard by our soldiers, who, with shouts and missiles around them, would be all intent on their own peril Night too was chosen for the movement to increase the panic Those however who tried to storm the entrenchment of the legions were easily repulsed, the Thracian auxiliaries were dismayed by the suddenness of the onset, for though some were lying close to their lines, far more were straggling beyond them, and the massacre was all the more savage, inasmuch as they were taunted with being fugitives and traitors and bearing arms for their own and their country's enslavement

49 Next day Sabinus displayed his forces in the plain, on the chance of the barbarians being encouraged by the night's success to risk an engagement Finding that they did not quit the fortress and the adjoining hills he began a siege by means of the works which he had opportunely began to construct, then he drew a fosse and stockade enclosing an extent of four miles, and by degrees contracted and narrowed his lines with the view of cutting off their water and forage He also threw up a rampart, from which to discharge stones, darts, and brands on the enemy, who was now within range It was thirst however which chiefly distressed them, for there was only one spring for the use of a vast multitude of soldiers and non-combatants. Their cattle too, penned up close to them, after the fashion of barbarians, were dying of want of fodder, near them lay human bodies which had perished from wounds or thirst, and the whole place was befouled with rotting carcases and stench and infection To their confusion was added the growing misery of discord, some

thinking of surrender, others of destruction by mutual blows Some there were who suggested a sortie instead of an unavenged death, and these were all men of spirit, though they differed in their plans

50 One of their chiefs, Dinis, an old man who well knew by long experience both the strength and clemency of Rome, maintained that they

gether with their freedom Tarsa however kept urging them to speedy death and to the instant breaking off of all hope and fear, and, by way of example, plunged his sword into his heart And there were some who chose the same death Turesis and his band waited for night, not with

fierce storm, and the foe, one moment with a tumultuous uproar, another in awful silence, had perplexed the besiegers, when Sabinus went

stakes with points hardened by fire, and boughs lopped from oaks, now filling up the fosses with bushes and hurdles and dead bodies, while others advanced up to the breastwork with bridges and ladders which they had constructed for the occasion, seized it, tore it down, and

the courage of the foe was heightened by this

emy, echoes, seemingly in their rear, from the winding mountain valleys, spread such confusion that the Romans abandoned some of their lines in the belief that they had been stormed Only however a very few of the enemy had broken through them, the rest, after their bravest men had been beaten back or wounded, were towards daybreak pushed back to the upper part of the fortress and there at last compelled to surrender Then the immediate neighbourhood, by the voluntary action of the inhabitants submitted The early and severe winter

the first step towards the destruction of Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra, her cousin, being prosecuted by Domitius Afer Lately a prætor, a man of but moderate position and eager to become notorious by any sort of deed Afer charged her with unchastity, with having Furnius for her paramour, and with attempts on the emperor by poison and sorcery Agrippina, always im

same man to slay victims to the Divine Augustus and to persecute his posterity The celestial spirit has not transferred itself to the mute statue, here is the true image, sprung of heavenly

grasp of disease yet on her, when the emperor came to see her, wept long and silently, and then began to mingle reproach and

tion She begged him "to relieve her loneliness and provide her with a husband, her youth still fitted her for marriage, which was a virtuous woman's only solace, and there were citizens in Rome who would not disdain to receive the wife of Germanicus and his children " But the emperor, who perceived the political aims of her request, but did not wish to show displeasure or

[illegible]

memoirs of the younger Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero, who handed down to posterity the story of her life and of the misfortunes of her family

54 Sejanus meanwhile yet more deeply alarmed the sorrowing and unsuspecting woman by sending his agents, under the guise of friendship, with warnings that poison was prepared for her, and that she ought to avoid her father in law's table Knowing not how to dissemble, she relaxed neither her features nor tone of voice as she sat by him at dinner, nor did she touch a single dish, till at last Tiberius noticed her conduct, either casually or because he was told of it To test her more closely, he praised some fruit as it was set on the table and passed it with his own hand to his daughter in law This increased the suspicions of Agrippina, and without putting the fruit to her lips she gave it to the slaves Still no remark fell from Tiberius before the company, but he turned to his mother and whispered that it was not surprising if he had decided on harsh treatment against one who implied that he was a poisoner Then there was a rumour that a plan was laid for her destruction, that the emperor did not dare to attempt it openly, and was seeking to veil the deed in secrecy

55 Tiberius, to divert people's talk, continually attended the Senate and gave an audience of several days to embassies from Asia on a disputed question as to the city in which the temple before mentioned should be erected Eleven cities were rivals for the honour, of which they were all equally ambitious, though they differed widely in resources With little variation they

[illegible]

years their homes had not been shaken by an earthquake and that the foundations of their temple were on the living rock Pergamos, it was thought, had been sufficiently honoured by having a temple of Augustus in the city, on which very fact they relied The Ephesians and Milesians had, it seemed, wholly devoted their respective towns to the worships of Apollo and Diana And so the question lay between Sardis and Smyrna The envoys from Sardis read a decree of the Etrurians, with whom they claimed kindred "Tyrrhenus and Lydus," it was said, "the sons of King Atys, divided the nation between them because of its multitude, Lydus remained in the country of his fathers, Tyrrhenus had the work assigned him of establishing new settlements, and names, taken from the two [illegible]

which afterwards took its name from Pelops " They spoke too of letters from Roman generals, of treaties concluded with us during the Macedonian war, and of their copious rivers, of their climate, and the rich countries round them

56 The envoys from Smyrna, after tracing their city's antiquity back to such founders as either Tantalus, the son of Jupiter, or Theseus, also of divine origin, or one of the Amazons, passed on to that on which they chiefly relied, their services to the Roman people, whom they had helped with naval armaments, not only in wars abroad, but in those under which we struggled in Italy They had also been the first, they said, to build a temple in honour of Rome, during the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato, when Rome s power indeed was great, but not

[illegible]

testimony of Lucius Sulla, whose army was [illegible] in terrible jeopardy from a severe winter and want of clothing, and this having been announced at Smyrna in a public assembly, all who were present stript their clothes off their backs and sent them to our legions And so the Senate, when the question was put, gave the preference to Smyrna Vibius Marsus moved that Marcus Lepidus, to whom the province of Asia had been assigned, should have under him a special commissioner to undertake the charge of this temple As Lepidus himself, out of modesty, declined to appoint, Valerius Naso, one of the ex prætors, was chosen by lot and sent out

57 Meanwhile, after long reflection on his

purpose and frequent deferment of it, the emperor retired into Campania to dedicate, as he pretended, a temple to Jupiter at Capua and

same solitude after that minister's destruction, I am often in doubt whether it is not to be more truly ascribed to himself, and his wish to hide by the place of his retreat the cruelty and licentiousness which he betrayed by his actions Some thought that in his old age he was ashamed of his personal appearance He had indeed a tall, singularly slender and stooping figure, a bald head, a face full of eruptions, and covered here and there with plasters In the seclusion of Rhodes he had habituated himself to shun society and to hide his voluptuous life According to one account his mother s domineering temper drove him away, he was weary of having her as his partner in power, and he could not

and adopted Tiberius himself With this Augusta would taunt her son, and claim back what she had given

58 His departure was attended by a small retinue, one senator, who was an ex-consul, Cocceius Nerva, learned in the laws, one Roman knight, besides Sejanus, of the highest order, Curtius Atticus, the rest being men of liberal culture, for the most part Greeks, in whose conversation he might find amusement It was said by men who knew the stars that the motions of the heavenly bodies when Tiberius left Rome were such as to forbid the possibility of his return This caused ruin to many who conjectured that his end was near and spread the rumour, for they never foresaw the very improbable contingency of his voluntary exile from his home for eleven years Soon afterwards it was clearly seen what a narrow margin there is between such science and delusion and in what obscurity

or on the coast near Rome and often close to the very walls of the city

59 It happened at this time that a perilous ac

in and crushed some of the attendants, thereupon panic seized the whole company and there was a general flight of the guests Sejanus hung over the emperor, and with knee, face, and hand encountered the falling stones, and was found in this attitude by the soldiers who came to their rescue After this he was greater than ever, and though his counsels were ruinous, he was listened to with confidence, as a man who had no care for himself He pretended to act as a judge towards the children of Germanicus, after having suborned persons to assume the part of prosecutors and to inveigh specially a

talk, was not indeed inspired with any guilty ambition, but still occasionally there would break from him wilful and thoughtless expres-

turn away, many after beginning a conversation would instantly break it off, while Sejanus's friends would stand their ground and laugh at

with envy by the partiality of the mother Agrippina towards Nero And yet Sejanus, while he favoured Drusus, was not without thoughts of sowing the seeds of his future ruin, well knowing how very impetuous he was and therefore the more exposed to treachery

61 Towards the close of the year died two [illegible]

though the monuments which remain of his genius are not admired as of old The truth is he succeeded more by vehemence than by finish of style While the research and labours of other authors are valued by an after age, the harmonious fluency of Haterius died with him

62 In the year of the consulship of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, the losses of a great war were matched by an unexpected disaster, no sooner begun than ended One Atilius, of the freedman class, having undertaken to build an amphitheatre at Fidena for the exhibition of a show of gladiators, failed to lay a solid foundation and to frame the wooden superstructure with beams of sufficient strength, for he had neither an abundance of wealth, nor zeal for public popularity, but he had simply sought the work for sordid gain Thither flocked all who loved such sights and who during the reign of Tiberius had been wholly debarred from such amusements, men and women of every age crowding to the place because it was near Rome And so the calamity was all the more fatal The building was densely crowded, then came a violent shock, as it fell inwards or spread outwards, precipitating and burying an immense multitude which was intently gazing on the show or standing round Those who were crushed to death in the first moment of the accident had at least under such dreadful circumstances the [illegible]

and by hearing in the night their screams and groans Soon all the neighbours in their excitement at the report were bewailing brothers, kinsmen or parents Even those whose friends or relatives were away from home for quite a different reason, still trembled for them, and as it was not yet known who had been destroyed by the crash, suspense made the alarm more widespread

63 As soon as they began to remove the débris, there was a rush to see the lifeless forms and much embracing and kissing Often a dispute would arise, when some distorted face, bearing however a general resemblance of form and age, had baffled their efforts at recognition Fifty thousand persons were maimed or destroyed in this disaster For the future it was provided by a decree of the Senate that no one was to exhibit a show of gladiators, whose fortune fell short of four hundred thousand sesterces, and that no amphitheatre was to be erected except on a foundation, the solidity of which had been examined Atilius was banished At the moment of the calamity the nobles threw open their houses and supplied indiscriminately medicines and physicians, so that Rome then, notwithstanding her sorrowful aspect, wore a likeness to the manners of our forefathers who after a great battle always relieved the wounded with their bounty and attentions

64 This disaster was not forgotten when a furious conflagration damaged the capital to an unusual extent, reducing Mount Cælius to ashes [illegible]

uting money in proportion to losses sustained He received a vote of thanks in the Senate [illegible]

had been accounted sacred and numbered among deities, and so additional sanctity ought to be given to a spot where heaven showed such honour to the emperor

65 It will not be uninteresting to mention that Mount Cælius was anciently known by the name of Querquetulanus, because it grew oak timber in abundance and was afterwards called Cælius by Cæles Vibenna, who led the Etruscan people to the aid of Rome and had the place given him as a possession by Tarquinius Priscus or by some other of the kings As to that

point historians differ, as to the rest, it is beyond a question that Vibenna's numerous forces established themselves in the plain beneath and in the neighbourhood of the forum, and that the Tuscan street was named after these strangers

[illegible]

ating circumstance Quintilius Varus, a rich man and related to the emperor, was suddenly attacked by Domitius Afer, the successful prosecutor of Claudia Pulchra, his mother, and no one wondered that the needy adventurer of *many years who had squandered his lately got*ten recompense was now preparing himself for fresh iniquities That Publius Dolabella should have associated himself in the prosecution was a marvel, for he was of illustrious ancestry, was allied to Varus, and was now himself seeking to destroy his own noble race, his own kindred The Senate however stopped the proceeding, and decided to wait for the emperor, this being the only means of escaping for a time impending horrors

67 Cæsar, meanwhile, after dedicating the

[illegible]

of townsfolk But he so loathed the towns and colonies and, in short, every place on the main land, that he buried himself in the island of Capreæ which is separated by three miles of strait from the extreme point of the promontory of Sorrentum The solitude of the place was, I believe, its chief attraction, for a harbour*less sea surrounds it and even for a small vessel* it has but few safe retreats, nor can any one land unknown to the sentries Its air in winter is soft, as it is screened by a mountain which is a protection against cutting winds In summer it catches the western breezes, and the open sea round it renders it most delightful It commanded too a prospect of the most lovely bay, till

[illegible]

Intent as he had once been on the cares of state, *he was now for thoroughly unbending himself* in secret profligacy and a leisure of malignant schemes For he still retained that rash proneness to suspect and to believe, which even at

Rome Sejanus used to foster, and which he here excited more keenly, no longer concealing his machinations against Agrippina and Nero Soldiers hung about them, and every message, every visit, their public and their private life were I may say regularly chronicled And persons were actually suborned to advise them to flee to the armies of Germany, or when the Forum was most crowded, to clasp the statue of the Divine Augustus and appeal to the protection of the people and Senate These counsels they disdained, but they were charged with having

[illegible]

been a friend of Germanicus He had indeed persisted in showing marked respect towards his wife and children, as their visitor at home, their companion in public, the solitary survivor of so many clients, and he was consequently esteemed by the good, as he was a terror to the evil minded Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petitius Rufus, and Marcus Opsius, ex prætors, conspired to attack him, with an eye to the consulship, to which there was access only through

[illegible]

ping some casual remarks, went on to praise the fidelity of Sabinus in not having like others forsaken after its fall the house of which he had *been the friend in its prosperity* He also spoke highly of Germanicus and compassionately of Agrippina Sabinus, with the natural softness of the human heart under calamity, burst into tears, which he followed up with complaints, and soon with yet more daring invective against

[illegible]

69 The men whom I have named now consulted how these conversations might fall with

stand behind the doors, there was a fear of their being seen or heard, or of suspicion casually arising Three senators thrust themselves into the space between the roof and ceiling, a hiding place as shameful as the treachery was execrable They applied their ears to apertures and crevices Latiaris meanwhile having met Sabinus in the streets, drew him to his house and to the room, as if he was going to communicate some fresh discoveries There he talked much about past and impending troubles, a copious topic indeed, and about fresh horrors Sabinus spoke as before and at greater length, as sorrow, when once it has broken into utterance, is the harder to restrain Instantly they hastened to accuse him, and having despatched a letter to the emperor, they informed him of the order of the plot and of their own infamy Never was Rome

suspicion

70 The emperor in his letter on the first of January, after offering the usual prayers for the new year, referred to Sabinus, whom he reproached with having corrupted some of his freedmen and having attempted his life, and he claimed vengeance in no obscure language It was decreed without hesitation, and the condemned man was dragged off, exclaiming as loudly as he could, with head covered and throat tightly bound, 'that this was inaugurating the year, these were the victims slain to Sejanus Wherever he turned his eyes, wherever his words fell, there was flight and solitude, the streets and public places were forsaken A few retraced their steps and again showed them

fices and prayers, a time when it is usual to refrain even from a profane word, the chain and halter are introduced? Tiberius has not incurred such odium blindly, this is a studied device to make us believe that there is no reason why the new magistrates should not open the dungeons as well as the temple and the altars"

ious life, that he apprehended treachery from enemies, but he mentioned no one by name Still there was no question that this was aimed at Nero and Agrippina

71 But for my plan of referring each event to its own year, I should feel a strong impulse to anticipate matters and at once relate the deaths by which Latinius and Opsius and the other authors of this atrocious deed perished, some after Caius became emperor, some even while Tiberius yet ruled For although he would not have the instruments of his wickedness destroyed by others, he frequently, when he was tired of them, and fresh ones offered themselves for the same services, flung off the old, now become a mere incubus But these and other punishments of guilty men I shall describe in due course

Asinius Gallus, to whose children Agrippina was aunt, then moved that the emperor should be requested to disclose his apprehensions to the Senate and allow their removal Of all his virtues, as he counted them, there was none on which Tiberius so prided himself as his ability to dissemble, and he was therefore the more irritated at an attempt to expose what he was hiding Sejanus however pacified him, not out of love for Gallus, but rather to wait the result of

deeds

About the same time Julia died, the granddaughter of Augustus He had condemned her on a conviction of adultery and had banished her to the island of Trimerus, not far from the shores of Apulia There she endured a twenty years' exile, in which she was supported by relief from Augusta, who having overthrown the prosperity of her step-children by secret machinations, made open display of her compassion to the fallen family

72 That same year the Frisii, a nation beyond the Rhine, cast off peace, more because of our rapacity than from their impatience of subjection Drusus had imposed on them a moderate tribute, suitable to their limited resources, the furnishing of ox hides for military purposes No one ever severely scrutinized the size or thick

First it was their herds, next their lands last the persons of their wives and children, which they gave up to bondage Then came angry remonstrances, and when they received no relief, they sought a remedy in war The soldiers appointed

to collect the tribute were seized and gibbeted Olennius anticipated their fury by flight, and found refuge in a fortress, named Flevum, where a by no means contemptible force of Romans and allies kept guard over the shores of the ocean

73 As soon as this was known to Lucius Apronius, proprætor of Lower Germany, he summoned from the Upper province the legionary veterans, as well as some picked auxiliary infantry and cavalry Instantly conveying both armies down the Rhine, he threw them on the [illegible]

[illegible]

cavalry of the Canninefates, with all the German infantry which served with us, to take the enemy in the rear Already in battle array, they were beating back our auxiliary horse as well as that of the legions sent to support them when three light cohorts, then two more, and after a while the entire cavalry were sent to the attack [illegible]

[illegible]

pulsed troops and were themselves carried away [illegible]

[illegible]

treme peril, sent messages imploring the whole strength of the legions The soldiers of the fifth sprang forward, drove back the enemy in a fierce encounter, and saved our cohorts and cavalry, who were exhausted by their wounds But the Roman general did not attempt vengeance or even bury the dead, although many tribunes, prefects, and first rank centurions had fallen Soon afterwards it was ascertained from deserters that nine hundred Romans had been cut to pieces in a wood called Braduhenna's, after prolonging the fight to the next day, and that another body of four hundred, which had taken possession of the house of one Cruptorix, once a soldier in our pay, fearing betrayal, had perished by mutual slaughter

74 The Frisian name thus became famous in Germany, and Tiberius kept our losses a secret, not wishing to entrust any one with the war Nor did the Senate care whether dishonour fell on the extreme frontiers of the empire Fear at home had filled their hearts, and for this they sought relief in sycophancy And so, although their advice was asked on totally different subjects, they decreed an altar to Clemency, an altar to Friendship, and statues round them to Cæsar and Sejanus, both of whom they earnestly begged with repeated entreaties to allow [illegible]

[illegible]

ber of the city populace flocked thither, anx[illegible]

[illegible]

extent of the city no one knows on what business each citizen is bent but there, as they [illegible]

[illegible]

## BOOK V, A D 29-31

[illegible]

and the triumvirs After this Cæsar, enamoured of her beauty, took her away from her husband, [illegible]

[illegible]

type, but was more gracious than was thought fitting in ladies of former days An imperious mother and an amiable wife, she was a match for the diplomacy of her husband and the dissimulation of her son Her funeral was simple, and her will long remained unexecuted Her panegyric was pronounced from the Rostra by her great grandson, Caius Cæsar, who afterwards succeeded to power

2 Tiberius however, making no change in his voluptuous life, excused himself by letter for his absence from his last duty to his mother on the ground of the pressure of business He even abridged, out of moderation, as it seemed, the honours which the Senate had voted on a lavish scale to her memory, allowing only a very few, and adding that no religious worship was to be decreed, this having been her own wish In a part of the same letter he sneered at female friendships, with an indirect censure on the consul Fufius, who had risen to distinction through Augusta's partiality Fufius was indeed a man well fitted to win the affection of a woman, he was witty too, and accustomed to ridicule Tiberius with those bitter jests which the powerful remember so long

3 This at all events was the beginning of an

dare to set himself above a parent's authority. Now, so to say, they threw off the reins and let loose their fury A letter was sent, directed against Agrippina and Nero, which was popularly believed to have been long before forwarded and to have been kept back by Augusta, as it was publicly read soon after her death. It contained expressions of studied harshness, yet it was not armed rebellion or a longing for

terested purposes) demanded that the question should be debated. The most eager was Cotta Messalinus, who made a savage speech Still, the other principal senators, and especially the magistrates, were perplexed, for Tiberius, notwithstanding his furious invective, had left everything else in doubt.

4. There was in the Senate one Junius Rusticus, who having been appointed by the emperor to register its debates was therefore supposed to have an insight into his secret purposes This man, whether through some fatal impulse (he had indeed never before given any evidence of courage) or a misdirected acuteness which made him tremble at the uncertain future, while he forgot impending perils, attached himself to the waverers, and warned the consuls not to enter on the debate. He argued that the highest issues turned on trivial causes, and that the fall of the house of Germanicus might one day move the old man's remorse At the same moment the people, bearing the images of Agrippina and Nero, thronged round the Senate house, and, with words of blessing on the emperor, kept shouting that the letter was a forgery and that it was not by the prince's will that ruin was being plotted against his house. And so that day passed without any dreadful result.

peror's trouble, that the people were in revolt, that speeches in a new style and new resolutions were being heard and read What remained but to take the sword and chose for their generals and emperors those whose images they had followed as standards

5 Upon this the emperor, after repeating his

the whole matter should be left to his exclusive decision Without further deliberation, they proceeded, not indeed to pronounce the final sentence (for this was forbidden), but to declare that they were prepared for vengeance, and were restrained only by the strong hand of the sovereign

[The remainder of the fifth book and the beginning of the sixth, recounting Sejanus' marriage and fall and covering a space of nearly three years, are lost Newer editions of Tacitus mark the division between the fifth and sixth

books at this point rather than at the end of sec-

fragmentary ]

* * * * * * *

"There is now a change of fortune, and even he who chose Sejanus to be his colleague and his son in law excuses his error As for the rest, the man whom they encouraged by shameful baseness, they now wickedly revile Which is the most pitiable, to be accused for friendship's sake or to have to accuse a friend, I cannot decide I will not put any man's cruelty or compassion to the test, but, while I am free and have a clear conscience, I will anticipate peril I implore you to cherish my memory with joy rather than with sorrow, numbering me too with those who by a noble death have fled from the miseries of our country"

was charged by his accusers with having offered the keys of the treasury, of which he was prefect, and the military chest in aid of a revolution Against the latter, Considius, an ex prætor, alleged intimacy with Ælius Gallus who after the punishment of Sejanus, had fled to the gardens of Pomponius as his safest refuge They had no resource in their peril but in the courageous firmness of their brothers who became

a man of refined manners and brilliant ge..., bore his adverse fortune with resignation, and outlived Tiberius

9 It was next decided to punish the remaining children of Sejanus, though the fury of the populace was subsiding, and people generally

er she was being dragged, saying that she would do so no more and a childish chastisement was enough for her correction Historians of the time tell us that, as there was no precedent for the capital punishment of a virgin, she was violated by the executioner, with the rope on her neck Then they were strangled and their bodies, mere children as they were, were flung down the Gemoniæ.

10 About the same time Asia and Achaia were alarmed by a prevalent but short lived rumour that Drusus, the son of Germanicus had been seen in the Cyclades and subsequently on the mainland There was indeed a young man of much the same age, whom some of the emperor's freedmen pretended to recognise, and to whom they attached themselves with a treacherous intent The renown of the name attracted the ignorant, and the Greek mind eagerly fastens on what is new and marvellous The story indeed, which they no sooner invented than be

enthusiasm, enjoying the present and cherishing idle hopes of the future, when Poppæus Sabinus heard of the affair At the time he was chiefly occupied with Macedonia, but he also

the man, when skilfully questioned, ... that he was the son of Marcus Silanus, and that, after the dispersion of a number of his follow

11 At the close of the year a long growing feud between the consuls broke out Trio, a

provoked, loved quietness, not only repulsed his colleague's attack, but was for dragging him to trial as a guilty accomplice in the conspiracy. And though many of the senators implored them to compose a quarrel likely to end fatally, they continued their enmity and their mutual menaces till they retired from office

## BOOK VI, A D 32–37

1 Cneius Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus had entered on the consulship when the emperor, after crossing the channel which divides Capreæ from Surrentum, sailed along Campania, in doubt whether he should enter Rome, or, possibly, simulating the intention of going thither, because he had resolved otherwise He often landed at points in the neighborhood, visited the gardens by the Tiber, but went back again to the cliffs and to the solitude of the sea shores, in shame at the vices and profligacies into which he had plunged so unrestrainedly that in the fashion of a despot he debauched the children of free born citizens It was not merely beauty and a handsome person which he felt as an incentive to his lust, but the modesty of childhood in some, and noble ancestry in others Hitherto unknown terms were then for the first time invented, derived from the abominations of the place and the endless phases of sensuality Slaves too were set over the work of seeking out and procuring, with rewards for the willing and threats to the reluctant, and if there was resistance from a relative or a parent, they used violence and force, and actually indulged their own passions as if dealing with captives.

2. At Rome meanwhile, in the beginning of the year, as if Livia's crimes had just been discovered and not also long ago punished, terrible decrees were proposed against her very statues and memory, and the property of Sejanus was to be taken from the exchequer and transferred to the imperial treasury, as if there was any difference The motion was being urged with extreme persistency, in almost the same or with but slightly changed language, by such men as Scipio, Silanus, and Cassius, when suddenly Togonius Gallus intruding his own obscurity among illustrious names, was heard with ridicule He

ever he entered the Senate House. The man had actually believed a letter from him in which he asked the protection of one of the consuls, so that he might go in safety from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius however, who usually combined jesting and seriousness, thanked the senators for their goodwill, but asked who could be rejected, who could be chosen? "Were they always to be the same, or was there to be a succession? Were they to be men who had held office or youths, private citizens or officials? Then, again, what a scene would be presented by persons grasping their swords on the threshold of the Senate House? His life was not of so much worth if it had to be defended by arms." This was his answer to Togonius, guarded in its expression, and he urged nothing beyond the rejection of the motion

sitting in the fourteen rows of the theatre, received a savage censure. Tiberius, just as if he were face to face with him, asked what *he* had to do with the soldiers, who ought not to receive the emperor's orders or his rewards except from the emperor himself? He had really discovered something which the Divine Augustus had not foreseen Or was not one of Sejanus's satellites rather seeking to sow discord and sedition, as a means of prompting ignorant minds, under the pretence of compliment, to ruin military discipline? This was Gallio's recompense for his carefully prepared flattery, with immediate expulsion from the Senate, and then from Italy. And as men complained that he would endure his exile with equanimity, since he had chosen the famous and lovely island of Lesbos, he was dragged back to Rome, and confined in the houses of different officials.

The emperor in the same letter crushed Sextius Paconianus, an ex prætor, to the great joy of the senators, as he was a daring, mischievous man, who pryed into every person's secrets, and had been the chosen instrument of Sejanus in

he not himself volunteered a disclosure.

4. As soon as he named Latinius Latiaris, accuser and accused, both alike objects of execration, presented a most welcome spectacle Latiaris, as I have related, had been foremost in contriving the ruin of Titius Sabinus, and was now the first to pay the penalty. By way of episode, Haterius Agrippa inveighed against the consuls of the previous year for now sitting silent after their threats of impeaching one another. "It must be fear," he said, "and a guilty conscience

which are acting as a bond of union But the senators must not keep back what they have heard Regulus replied that he was awaiting the opportunity for vengeance, and meant to press it in the emperor's presence Trio s answer was that it was best to efface the memory of rivalries between colleagues, and of any words uttered in quarrels When Agrippa still persisted, Sanquinius Maximus, one of the ex-consuls, implored the Senate not to increase the emperor s anxieties by seeking further occasions of bitterness as he was himself competent to provide remedies This secured the safety of Regulus and the postponement of Trio s ruin Haterius was hated all the more Wan with untimely slumbers and nights of riot, and not fearing in his indolence even the cruellest of princes he yet plotted amid his gluttony and lust the destruction of illustrious men

5 Several charges were next brought, as soon as the opportunity offered, against Cotta Messalinus the author of every unusually cruel proposal and consequently, regarded with inveterate hatred He had spoken, it was said of Caius Cæsar, as if it were a question whether he was a man, and of an entertainment at which he was present on Augusta's birthday with the priests, as a funeral banquet In remonstrating too against the influence of Marcus Lepidus and Lu

frequent services, and then requested that words perversely misrepresented and the freedom of table talk might not be construed into a crime

at this moment what to write to you, Senators,

scourging, so is the spirit by brutality, by lust and by evil thoughts Assuredly Tiberius was not saved by his elevation or his solitude from

having to confess the anguish of his heart and his self inflicted punishment

7 Authority was then given to the Senate to decide the case of Cæcilianus, one of its members, the chief witness against Cotta, and it was agreed that the same penalty should be inflicted as on Aruseius and Sanquinius, the accusers of Lucius Arruntius Nothing ever happened to Cotta more to his distinction Of noble birth, but beggared by extravagance and infamous for his excesses, he was now by the dignity of his revenge, raised to a level with the stainless virtues of Arruntius

Quintus Servæus and Minucius Thermus

berius on the contrary, denounced them as foremost in crime, and bade Caius Cestius the elder, tell the Senate what he had communicated to the emperor by letter Cestius undertook the prosecution And this was the most dreadful feature of the age, that leading members of the Senate, some openly, some secretly employed themselves in the very lowest work of the informer One could not distinguish between aliens and kinsfolk, between friends and strangers, or say what was quite recent, or what half forgotten from lapse of time People were incriminated for some casual remark in the forum or at the dinner table, for every one was impatient to be the first to mark his victim some to screen themselves, most from being, as it were, infected with the contagion of the malady

Minucius and Servæus on being condemned,

ers have not recorded them

than to deny the charge Still, whatever is to be the issue of the matter, I shall admit that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I anxiously sought to be such, and was delighted when I was successful I had seen him his father s colleague in the command of the prætorian cohorts, and subsequently combining the duties of civil and military life His kinsfolk and connections were loaded with honours, intimacy with Sejanus was in every case a powerful recommendation to the emperor's friendship Those, on the contrary, whom he hated, had to struggle with danger and humiliation I take no individual as an instance All of us who had no part in his last design, I mean to defend at the peril of myself alone It was really not Sejanus of Vulsinii, it was a member of the Claudian and Julian houses, in which he had taken a position by his marriage-alliance, it was your son in law, Cæsar, your partner in the consulship, the man who administered your political functions, whom we courted It is not for us to criticise one whom you may raise above all others or your motives for so doing Heaven has intrusted you with the supreme decision of affairs, and for us is left the glory of obedience And, again, we see what takes place before our eyes, who it is on whom you bestow riches and honours, who are the most powerful to help or to injure That Sejanus was such, no one will deny To explore the prince's secret thoughts, or any of his hidden plans, is a forbidden, a dangerous thing, nor does it follow that one could reach them

Do not, Senators, think only of Sejanus s last day, but of his sixteen years of power We actually adored a Satrius and a Pomponius To be known even to his freedmen and hall porters was thought something very grand What then is my meaning? Is this apology meant to be offered for all without difference and discrimination? No, it is to be restricted within proper limits Let plots against the State, murderous designs against the emperor be punished As for friendship and its obligations, the same principle must acquit both you, Cæsar, and us

9 The courage of this speech and the fact that there had been found a man to speak out what was in all people s thoughts, had such an effect that the accusers of Terentius were sentenced to banishment or death, their previous offences being taken into account Then came a letter from Tiberius against Sextus Vestilius, an ex prætor, whom, as a special favourite of his brother Drusus, the emperor had admitted into his own select circle. His reason for being displeased with Vestilius was that he had either written an attack on Caius Cæsar as a profligate, or that Tiberius believed a false charge For this Vestilius was excluded from the prince's table He then tried the knife with his aged hand, but again bound up his veins opening them once more however on having begged for pardon by letter and received a pitiless answer After him a host of persons were charged with treason, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scaurus Mamercus, Sabinus Calvisius, Vinicianus too, coupled with Pollio, his father, men all of illustrious descent some too of the highest political distinction The senators were panic stricken, for how few of their number were not connected by alliance or by friendship with this multitude of men of rank! Celsus however, tribune of a city cohort, and now one of the prosecutors, saved Appius and Calvisius from the peril The emperor postponed the cases of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, intending to try them himself with the Senate, not however without affixing some ominous marks to the name of Scaurus

10 Even women were not exempt from danger Where they could not be accused of grasping at political power, their tears were made a crime. Vitia, an aged woman, mother of Fufius Geminus, was executed for bewailing the death of her son Such were the proceedings in the Senate It was the same with the emperor Vescularius Atticus and Julius Marinus were hurried off to execution, two of his oldest friends men who had followed him to Rhodes and been his inseparable companions at Capreæ Vescularius was his agent in the plot against Libo, and it was with the co-operation of Marinus that Sejanus had ruined Curtius Atticus Hence there was all the more joy at the recoil of these precedents on their authors

About the same time Lucius Piso, the pontiff, died a natural death, a rare incident in so high a rank Never had he by choice proposed a servile motion, and, whenever necessity was too strong for him, he would suggest judicious compromises His father, as I have related had been a censor He lived to the advanced age of eighty, and had won in Thrace the honour of a triumph But his chief glory rested on the wonderful tact with which as city prefect he handled an authority, recently made perpetual and all the more galling to men unaccustomed to obey it

11 In former days, when the kings and subsequently the chief magistrates went from Rome, an official was temporarily chosen to administer justice and provide for emergencies, so that the capital might not be left without government It is said that Denter Romulius was appointed by

Romulus, then Numa Marcius by Tullus Hostilius, and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus Afterwards, the consuls made the appointment The shadow of the old practice still survives, whenever in consequence of the Latin festival some one is deputed to exercise the [illegible]

When he rose to supreme power, in consideration of the magnitude of the State and the slowness of legal remedies, he selected one of the ex consuls to overawe the slaves and that part of the population which, unless it fears a strong hand, is disorderly and reckless Messala Corvinus was the first to obtain the office, which he [illegible]

was, by the Senate's decree, honoured with a public funeral

12 A motion was next brought forward in the Senate by Quintilianus, a tribune of the people, respecting an alleged book of the Sibyl Caninius Gallus, a member of the College of the [illegible]

usual, by its presidents, though their authenticity was very doubtful He also reminded him that, as many spurious productions were cur [illegible]

been made by our ancestors after the burning of [illegible]

but one or more) and the priests were charged with the business of distinguishing, as far as they could by human means, what were genuine Accordingly the book in question was now also submitted to the scrutiny of the College of the Fifteen

13 During the same consulship a high price of corn almost brought on an insurrection For several days there were many clamorous demands made in the theatre with an unusual freedom of language towards the emperor This provoked him to censure the magistrates and the Senate for not having used the authority of the State to put down the people He named too the [illegible]

the severe spirit of antiquity, and the consuls issued a not less stringent proclamation The emperor s silence was not, as he had hoped, taken as a proof of patriotism, but of pride

14 At the year's close Geminius, Celsus and [illegible]

Julius Celsus, a tribune, while in confinement, loosened his chain, and having twisted it around him, broke his neck by throwing himself in an opposite direction Rubrius Fabatus was put un [illegible]

to mercy

15 In the consulship of Servius Galba and Lucius Sulla, the emperor, after having long considered whom he was to choose to be husbands for his granddaughters, now that the maidens were of marriageable age, selected Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius Vinicius was of provincial descent, he was born at Cales, his father and grandfather having been consuls, and his family, on the other side, being of the rank of knights He was a man of amiable temper and of cultivated eloquence Cassius was of an ancient and honourable, though plebeian house, at Rome Though he was brought up by his [illegible]

prætorians, with a few tribunes and centurions, might accompany him whenever he entered the Senate house But though a decree was voted by the Senate on a liberal scale and without any restrictions as to rank or numbers, he never so much as went near the walls of Rome, much less the State-council, for he would often go round and avoid his native city by circuitous routes

16 Meanwhile a powerful host of accusers fell with sudden fury on the class which systematically increased its wealth by usury in defiance of a law passed by Cæsar the Dictator defining the terms of lending money and of hold

in the early days of a less corrupt morality First, the Twelve Tables prohibited any one from exacting more than 10 per cent., when, previous-

wholly forbidden. A check too was put by several

pelled by the number of persons endangered to refer the matter to the Senate In their dismay the senators, not one of whom was free from similar guilt, threw themselves on the emperor's indulgence He yielded, and a year and six months were granted, within which every one was to settle his private accounts conformably to the requirements of the law.

17. Hence followed a scarcity of money, a great shock being given to all credit, the current coin too, in consequence of the conviction of so many persons and the sale of their property, being locked up in the imperial treasury or the public exchequer To meet this, the Senate had directed that every creditor should have two-thirds of his capital secured on estates in Italy. Creditors however were suing for payment in full, and it was not respectable for persons when sued to break faith So, at first, there were clamorous meetings and importunate entreaties; then noisy applications to the prætor's court. And the very device intended as a remedy, the sale and purchase of estates, proved the contrary, as the usurers had hoarded up all their money for buying land. The facilities for selling were followed by a fall of prices, and the deeper a man was in debt, the more reluctantly did he part with his property, and many were utterly ruined The destruction of private wealth precipitated the fall of rank and reputation, till at last the emperor interposed his aid by distributing throughout the banks a hundred million sesterces, and allowing freedom to borrow without interest for three years, provided the borrower gave security to the State in land to double the amount Credit was thus restored, and gradually private lenders were found The purchase too of estates was not carried out according to the letter of the Senate's decree, rigour at the outset, as usual with such matters, becoming negligence in the end

18 Former alarms then returned, as there was a charge of treason against Considius Proculus. While he was celebrating his birthday without a fear, he was hurried before the Senate, condemned and instantly put to death His sister Sancia was outlawed, on the accusation of Quintus Pomponius, a restless spirit, who pretended that he employed himself in this and like practices to win favour with the sovereign, and thereby alleviate the perils hanging over his brother Pomponius Secundus

Pompeia Macrina too was sentenced to ban-

ex prætor, seeing their doom was near, destroyed themselves It was imputed to them as a crime that their great grandfather Theophanes of Mitylene had been one of the intimate friends of Pompey the Great, and that after his death Greek flattery had paid him divine honours

19 Sextus Marius, the richest man in Spain, was next accused of incest with his daughter, and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock To remove any doubt that the vastness of his wealth had proved the man's ruin, Tiberius kept his gold mines for himself, though they were forfeited to the State. Executions were now a stimulus to his fury, and he ordered the death of all who were lying in prison under accusation of complicity with Sejanus There lay, singly or in heaps, the unnumbered dead, of every age and sex, the illustrious with the obscure Kinsfolk and friends were not allowed to be near them, to weep over them, or even to gaze on them too long Spies were set round them, who noted the sorrow of each mourner and followed the rotting corpses, till they were dragged to the Tiber, where, floating or driven on

the bank, no one dared to burn or to touch them The force of terror had utterly extinguished the sense of human fellowship, and, with the growth of cruelty, pity was thrust aside

20 About this time Caius Cæsar, who became his grandfather's companion on his retirement to Capreæ, married Claudia, daughter of Marcus Silanus He was a man who masked a savage temper under an artful guise of self restraint, and neither his mother's doom nor the banishment of his brothers extorted from him a single utterance Whatever the humour of the day with Tiberius, he would assume the like, and his language differed as little Hence the fame of a clever remark from the orator Passienus, that 'there never was a better slave or a worse master"

I must not pass over a prognostication of Ti

science Tiberius had determined to test, through an unfrequented and precipitous path (for the house stood on rocks), and then, if any suspicion had arisen of imposture or of trickery, he hurled the astrologer, as he returned, into the sea beneath, that no one might live to betray the secret Thrasyllus accordingly was led up the same cliffs, and when he had deeply impressed his questioner by cleverly revealing his imperial destiny and future career, he was asked whether he had also thoroughly ascertained his own horoscope, and the character of that particular year and day After surveying the positions and relative distances of the stars, he first paused,

I suspend my judgment on the question whether it is fate and unchangeable necessity or chance which governs the revolutions of human affairs Indeed, among the wisest of the ancients and among their disciples you will find conflicting theories, many holding the conviction that heaven does not concern itself with the beginning or the end of our life, or, in short, with mankind at all, and that therefore sorrows are continually the lot of the good, happiness of the wicked, while others, on the contrary, believe that, though there is a harmony between fate and events, yet it is not dependent on wandering

that, the choice once made, there is a fixed sequence of events Good and evil, again, are not

patience, and the latter make a foolish use of their prosperity

there was not a doubt, whether of his own choice or by compulsion, was a question The emperor was asked whether he would allow him to be buried, and he blushed not to grant the favour, and actually blamed the accident which had

number of ex-consuls

Next Drusus perished, after having prolonged life for eight days on the most wretched of food, even chewing the stuffing of his bed According to some writers, Macro had been in

people Subsequently the emperor, as a

to relent

24 He even bitterly reviled him after his death, taunting him with nameless abominations and with a spirit bent on his family's ruin

could have heard read, and published all, was scarce credible But letters of Attius, a centurion, and Didymus, a freedman, openly exhibited the names of slave after slave who had respectively struck or scared Drusus as he was quitting his chamber The centurion had actually added, as something highly meritorious, his own language in all its brutality, and some utterances of the dying man in which, at first

had slain a daughter in law, a brother's son, and son's sons, and filled his whole house with bloodshed, so might he pay the full penalty due to the name and race of his ancestors as well as to future generations"

The Senate clamorously interrupted, with an affectation of horror, but they were penetrat

display his grandson under a centurion's lash, amid the buffetings of slaves, craving in vain the last sustenance of life

25 Men's grief at all this had not died away

day on which Sejanus had paid the penalty of his crime two years before, a fact, he said, to be recorded, and he made it a boast that she had not been strangled by the halter and flung down the Gemonian steps He received a vote of thanks, and it was decreed that on the seventeenth of October, the day on which both perished, through all future years, an offering should be consecrated to Jupiter.

26 Soon afterwards Cocceius Nerva, a man always at the emperor's side, a master of law both divine and human, whose position was secure and health sound, resolved to die Tiberi

out any cause for death Nerva turned away from his expostulations and persisted in his abstinence from all food Those who knew his thoughts said that as he saw more closely into the miseries of the State, he chose, in anger and alarm, an honourable death, while he was yet safe and unassailed

Meanwhile Agrippina's ruin, strange to say, dragged Plancina with it Formerly the wife of Cneius Piso, and one who had openly exulted at the death of Germanicus, she had been saved, when Piso fell, by the intreaties of Augusta, and not less by the enmity of Agrippina When hatred and favour had alike passed away, justice asserted itself Pursued by charges universally notorious, she suffered by her own hand a penalty tardy rather than undeserved

27 Amid the many sorrows which saddened Rome, one cause of grief was the marriage of Julia, Drusus's daughter and Nero's late wife, into the humbler family of Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather many remembered as a Roman knight from Tibur. At the end of the year the death of Ælius Lamia, who, after being at last released from the farce of governing Syria, had become city prefect, was celebrated with

Syria, a letter from the emperor was read, in which he complained that all the best men who were fit to command armies declined the service, and that he was thus necessarily driven to intreaties, by which some of the ex-consuls might be prevailed on to take provinces He forgot that Arruntius had been kept at home now for

ten years, that he might not go to Spain

That same year Marcus Lepidus also died I have dwelt at sufficient length on his moderation and wisdom in my earlier books, and I need not further enlarge on his noble descent Assuredly the family of the Æmilii has been rich in good citizens, and even the members of that house whose morals were corrupt, still lived with a certain splendour

28 During the consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius, the bird called the phœnix, after a long succession of ages, appeared in Egypt and furnished the most learned men of that country and of Greece with abundant matter for the discussion of the marvellous phenomenon It is my wish to make known all on which they agree with several things, questionable enough indeed, but not too absurd to be noticed

That it is a creature sacred to the sun, differing from all other birds in its beak and in the tints of its plumage, is held unanimously by those who have described its nature As to the number of years it lives, there are various ac

Heliopolis successively in the reigns of Sesos-

pearance But all antiquity is of course obscure From Ptolemy to Tiberius was a period of less than five hundred years Consequently some have supposed that this was a spurious phœnix, not from the regions of Arabia, and with none of the instincts which ancient tradition has attributed to the bird For when the number of years is completed and death is near, the phœnix,

ing up a load of myrrh and having tried its strength by a long flight, as soon as it is equal to

question that the bird is occasionally seen in Egypt.

29 Rome meanwhile being a scene of cease

deaths eagerly sought was dread of the executioner, and the fact too that the condemned, besides forfeiture of their property, were deprived of burial while those who decided their fate themselves, had their bodies interred and their wills remained valid, a recompense this for their despatch The emperor, however, argued in a letter to the Senate that it had been the practice of our ancestors, whenever they broke off an intimacy, to forbid the person their house, and so put an end to friendship This usage he had himself revived in Labeo s case, but Labeo, be

Mamercus Scaurus was then for the second

under whom he had commanded a legion, by alleging that he had fixed on a son of Sejanus for

Apronius Hence rumour persistently affirmed that he had ventured to send the emperor a letter, reminding him that his alliance with Sejanus had not originated in his own choice but in the advice of Tiberius, that he

liable to be deceived

same mistake ought not to be held innocent in the prince and be a source of ruin to others His loyalty was still untainted and would so remain, if he was not assailed by any plot A successor he should accept as an announcement of his doom A compact, so to say, ought to be sealed between them, by which he should retain his province, and the emperor be master of all else Strange as this story was, it derived credibility from the fact that Gætulicus alone of all connected with [illegible] ed more on prestige than on power

31 In the consulship of Caius Cestius and Marcus Servilius, some Parthian nobles came to Rome, without the knowledge of their king Artabanus Dread of Germanicus had made that prince faithful to the Romans and just to his people, but he subsequently changed this behaviour for insolence towards us and tyranny to his subjects He was elated by the wars which he had successfully waged against the surrounding nations, while he disdained the aged and, as he thought, unwarlike Tiberius, eagerly coveting Armenia, over which, on the death of Artaxias, he placed Arsaces, his eldest son He further added insult, and sent envoys to reclaim the treasures left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia Then too he insisted on the ancient boundaries of Persia and Macedonia, and intimated, with a vain glorious threat, that he meant to seize on the country possessed by Cyrus and afterwards by Alexander

The chief adviser of the Parthians in sending the secret embassy was Sinnaces, a man of distinguished family and corresponding wealth Next in influence was Abdus, an eunuch, a class which, far from being despised among barbarians, actually possesses power These, with some other nobles whom they admitted to their counsels, as there was not a single Arsacid whom they could put on the throne, most of the family having been murdered by Artabanus or being under age, demanded that Phraates, son of king Phraates, should be sent from Rome "Only a name," they said, "and an authority were wanted, only, in fact, that, with Cæsar's consent, a scion of the house of Arsaces should show himself on the banks of the Euphrates"

32 This suited the wishes of Tiberius He [illegible]

weakness, prompt action king like But now expediency prevailed, and he invited Abdus, under the guise of friendship, to a banquet, and disabled him by a lingering poison· Sinnaces he put off by pretexts and presents, and also by various employments Phraates meanwhile, on arriving in Syria, where he threw off the Roman fashions to which for so many years he had been accustomed, and adapted himself to Parthian habits, unable to endure the customs of his country, was carried off by an illness Still, Tiberius did not relinquish his purpose He chose Tiridates, of the same stock as Artabanus, to be his rival, and the Iberian Mithridates to be the instrument of recovering Armenia, having reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes, who held the throne of that country He then intrusted the whole of his eastern policy to Lucius Vitellius The man, I am aware, had a bad name at Rome, and many a foul story was told of him But in the government of provinces he acted with the virtue of ancient times He returned, and then, [illegible] youth

33 Of the petty chiefs Mithridates was the first to persuade Pharasmanes to aid his enterprise by stratagem and force, and agents of corruption were found who tempted the servants of Arsaces into crime by a quantity of gold At the same instant the Iberians burst into Armenia with a huge host, and captured the city of Artaxata Artabanus, on hearing this, made his son Orodes the instrument of vengeance He gave him the Parthian army and despatched men to hire auxiliaries Pharasmanes, on the other hand, allied himself with the Albanians, and procured aid from the Sarmatæ, whose highest chiefs took bribes from both sides, after the fashion of their countrymen, and engaged themselves in conflicting interests But the Iberians, who were masters of the various positions, suddenly poured the Sarmatæ into Armenia by the Caspian route Meanwhile those who were coming up to the support of the Parthians were easily kept back, all other approaches having been closed by the enemy except one, between the sea and the mountains on the Albanian frontier, which summer rendered difficult, as there

the shallows are flooded by the force of the Etesian gales The south wind in winter rolls back the waves, and when the sea is driven back upon itself, the shallows along the coast are exposed

harassed his foraging parties He often hemmed him in with his picquets in the fashion of a blockade, till the Parthians, who were unused to such insults, gathered round the king and de

claim to have been descended from the Thessalians, at the period when Jason, after the departure of Medea and the children born of her, returned subsequently to the empty palace of Æetes, and the vacant kingdom of Colchi They have many traditions connected with his name and with the oracle of Phrixus No one among

domination, and that the grander their aims, the more glory they would win if victorious, the more disgrace and peril they would incur if they turned their backs He pointed, as he spoke, to his own menacing array, and to the Median bands with their golden embroidery, warriors, as he said, on one side, spoil on the other

tack by a hand to hand charge Then followed every variety of conflict The Parthians, accustomed to pursue or fly with equal science, deployed their squadrons, and sought scope for their missiles The Sarmatæ, throwing aside their bows, which at a shorter range are effective, … Sometimes,

of arms, they repulsed the foe or were themselves repulsed And now the Albanians and Iberians seized, and hurled the Parthians from their steeds, and embarrassed their enemy with a double attack pressed as they were by the cavalry on the heights and by the nearer blows of the infantry Meanwhile Pharasmanes and Orodes, who as they cheered on the brave and supported the wavering, were conspicuous to all,

was believed by mistake, struck panic into the Parthians, and they yielded the victory

36 Artabanus very soon marched with the

did not retreat till Vitellius had assembled his legions and, by starting a report that he meant to invade Mesopotamia, raised an alarm of war with Rome Armenia was then abandoned, and the fortunes of Artabanus were overthrown, Vitellius persuading his subjects to forsake a king who was a tyrant in peace, and ruinously unsuccessful in war And so Sinnaces, whose enmity to the prince I have already mentioned, drew into actual revolt his father Abdageses and others, who had been secretly in his counsel, and were now after their continued disasters more eager to fight By degrees many flocked to him who, having been kept in subjection by fear rather than by goodwill, took courage as soon as they found leaders

Artabanus had now no resources but in some foreigners who guarded his person, men exiled

thus offered, and then led the main strength the legions and the allies to th

Euphrates While they were sacrificing, the one, after Roman custom, offering a swine, a ram and a bull, the other, a horse which he had [illegible]

[illegible]

perous passage Some explained it with more subtlety, of a successful commencement to the enterprise, which, however, would not be lasting, on the ground, that though a confident trust might be placed in prognostics given in the earth or in the heavens, the fluctuating character of rivers exhibited omens which vanished the same moment

A bridge of boats having been constructed and the army having crossed, the first to enter the camp was Ornospades, with several thousand cavalry Formerly an exile, he had rendered conspicuous aid to Tiberius in the completion of the Dalmatic war, and had for this been rewarded with Roman citizenship Subsequently, he had again sought the friendship of his king, by whom he had been raised to high honour, and appointed governor of the plains, which, being surrounded by the waters of those famous rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, have received the name of Mesopotamia Soon afterwards, Sinnaces reinforced the army, and Abdageses, the mainstay of the party, came with the royal treasure and what belonged to the crown Vitellius thought it enough to have displayed the arms of Rome, and he then bade Tiridates remember his grandfather Phraates, and his foster father Cæsar, and all that was glorious in both of them, while the nobles were to show obedience to their king, and respect for us, each maintaining his honour and his loyalty This done, he returned with the legions to Syria

38 I have related in sequence the events of two summer-campaigns, as a relief to the reader's mind from our miseries at home Though three years had elapsed since the destruction of Sejanus, neither time, intreaties, nor sated gratification, all which have a soothing effect on others, softened Tiberius, or kept him from pun [illegible]

[illegible]

berius ordered these insults, which Trio's heirs had suppressed, to be publicly read, thus show [illegible]

[illegible]

ever reckless, to be published, and so to ascertain, through invective, if it must be so, the truth, which flattery obscures About the same time Granius Marcianus, a senator, who was accused of treason by Caius Gracchus, laid hands on himself Tarius Gratianus too, an ex prætor, was condemned under the same law to capital punishment

39 A similar fate befell Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus Trebellienus perished by his own hand, Paconianus was strangled in prison for having there written some lampoons on the emperor Tiberius received the news, no longer parted by the sea, as he had been once, or through messengers from a distance, but in close proximity to Rome, so that on the same day, or after the interval of a single night, he could reply to the despatches of the consuls, and almost behold the bloodshed as it streamed from house to house, and the strokes of the executioner

At the year's close Poppæus Sabinus died, a man of somewhat humble extraction, who had risen by his friendship with two emperors to the consulship and the honours of a triumph During twenty four years he had the charge of the most important provinces, not for any remarkable ability, but because he was equal to business and was not too great for it

40 Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius were the next consuls The fact that that year Lucius Aruseius was put to death did not strike men as anything horrible, from their familiarity with evil deeds But there was a panic when Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, as soon as his accusers had finished their case, took from his robe, in the very Senate house, a dose of poison, drank it off, and, as he fell expiring, was hurried away to prison by the prompt hands of lictors, where the neck of the now lifeless man was crushed with the halter Even Tigranes, who had once ruled Armenia and was now impeached, did not escape the punishment of an ordinary citizen on the strength of his royal title

Caius Galba meanwhile and the Blaesi perished by a voluntary death, Galba, because a harsh letter from the emperor forbade him to have a province allotted to him, while, as for the Blaesi, the priesthoods intended for them

during the prosperity of their house, Tiberius had withheld, when that prosperity was shaken, and now conferred, as vacant offices, on others This they understood as a signal of their doom, and acted on it

Æmilia Lepida too, whose marriage with the younger Drusus I have already related, who, though she had pursued her husband with ceaseless accusations, remained unpunished, infamous as she was as long as her father Lepidus lived subsequently fell a victim to the informers for adultery with a slave There was no question about her guilt, and so without an attempt at defence she put an end to her life

41 At this same time the Clitæ, a tribe subject to the Cappadocian Archelaus, retreated to the heights of Mount Taurus, because they were compelled in Roman fashion to render an account of their revenue and submit to tribute There they defended themselves by means of the nature of the country against the king's unwarlike troops, till Marcus Trebellius, whom

Those who dared to sally out, he reduced to surrender by the sword, the rest by drought

Tiridates meanwhile, with the consent of the Parthians, received the submission of Nicephorium Anthemusias and the other cities, which having been founded by Macedonians, claim Greek names, also of the Parthian towns Halus and Artemita There was a rivalry of joy among the inhabitants who detested Artabanus, bred as he had been

clung loyally to its founder Seleucus, assumed the most marked tone of flattery Three hundred citizens, chosen for wealth or wisdom, form a kind of senate, and the people have powers of their own When both act in concert, they look with contempt on the Parthians as soon as they

government almost amounts to freedom, while the rule of the few approaches closely to a monarch's caprice

Seleucia now celebrated the arrival of Tiridates with all the honours paid to princes of old and all which modern times, with a more copious inventiveness, have devised Reproaches were at the same time heaped on Artabanus, as an Arsacid indeed on his mother's side, but as in all else degenerate Tiridates gave the government of Seleucia to the people Soon afterwards as he was deliberating on what day he should inaugurate his reign, he received letters from Phraates and Hiero, who held two very powerful provinces, imploring a brief delay It was thought best to wait for men of such commanding influence, and meanwhile Ctesiphon, the seat of empire was their chosen destination But as they postponed their coming from day to day, the Surena, in the presence of an ap

the coronation some from fear, some out of jealousy of Abdageses, who then ruled the

under the impression that treachery was intended, but when they pledged their honour that

creature bred in foreign effeminacy, while the

and then pushed on in haste thus anticipating the plots of enemies and the fickleness of friends

He was now approaching the ne

of Seleucia with a large force, while Tiridates, dismayed by the rumour and then by the king's presence in person, was divided in mind, and [illegible]

in obedience, traitors and enemies, as they had lately been, to the prince whom now again they were supporting Abdageses, however, advised a retreat into Mesopotamia There, with a river in their front, they might in the interval summon to their aid the Armenians and Elymæans and other nations in their rear, and then, reinforced by allies and troops which would be sent by the Roman general, they might try the fortune of war This advice prevailed, for Abdageses had the chief influence and Tiridates was a coward in the face of danger But their retreat resembled a flight The Arabs made a beginning, and then the rest went to their homes or to the camp of Artabanus, till Tiridates returned to Syria with a few followers and thus relieved all from the disgrace of desertion

45 That same year Rome suffered from a terrible fire, and part of the circus near the Aventine hill was burnt, as well as the Aventine quarter itself This calamity the emperor turned to his own glory by paying the values of the houses and blocks of tenements A hundred million of sesterces was expended in this munificence, a boon all the more acceptable to the populace, as Tiberius was rather sparing in building at his private expense He raised only two structures even at the public cost, the temple of Augustus and the stage of Pompey's theatre, and when these were completed, he did not dedicate them, either out of contempt for popularity [illegible]

to assess the damage in each case, and Publius Petronius was added to their number on the nomination of the consuls Various honours were devised and decreed to the emperor such as each man's ingenuity suggested It is a ques- [illegible]

Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius, entered on office, Macro's power being now excessive Every day the man cultivated more assiduously than ever the favour of Caius Cæsar, which, in deed, he had never neglected, and after the death of Claudia, who had, as I have related been married to Caius, he had prompted his wife Ennia to inveigle the young prince by a pretence of love, and to bind him by an engagement of marriage, and the lad, provided he could secure the throne, shrank from no conditions For though he was of an excitable temper, he had thoroughly learnt the falsehoods of hypocrisy under the loving care of his grandfather

46 This the emperor knew, and he therefore hesitated about bequeathing the empire, first, between his grandsons Of these, the son of Drusus was nearest in blood and natural affection, but he was still in his childhood Germanicus's [illegible]

Claudius, as he was of sedate age and had a taste for liberal culture, but a weak intellect was against him If however he were to seek a successor outside of his house, he feared that the memory of Augustus and the name of the Cæsars would become a laughing stock and a scorn It was, in fact not so much popularity in the present for which he cared as for glory in the future

Perplexed in mind, exhausted in body, he soon left to destiny a question to which he was unequal, though he threw out some hints from [illegible]

la's vices and none of his virtues At the same moment he embraced the younger of his two grandsons with a flood of tears, and, noting the [illegible]

would simulate health, and was wont to jest at the arts of the physician and at all who, after the age of thirty, require another man's advice to distinguish between what is beneficial or hurtful to their constitutions

47 At Rome meanwhile were being sown the seeds of bloodshed to come even after Tiberius's death Acutia formerly the wife of Publius Vitellius, had been accused of treason by Lælius Balbus When on her condemnation a reward was being voted to her prosecutor, Junius Otho, tribune of the people, interposed his veto Hence a feud between Vitellius and Otho, ending in

Otho's banishment Then Albucilla, notorious for the number of her lovers, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, the betrayer of the late conspiracy, was charged with irreverence towards the emperor With her were involved as her accomplices and paramours Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marsus and Lucius Arruntius. I have already spoken of the illustrious rank of Domitius Marsus too was distinguished by the honours of his ancestors and by his own attainments It was, however, stated in the notes of the proceedings furnished to the Senate that Macro had superintended the examination of the witnesses and the torture of the slaves, and the fact that there was no letter from the emperor against the defendants caused a suspicion that, while he was very feeble and possibly ignorant of the matter, the charge was to a great extent invented to gratify Macro's well known enmity against Arruntius.

48 And so Domitius and Marsus prolonged their lives, Domitius, preparing his defence, Marsus, having apparently resolved on starvation. Arruntius, when his friends advised delay [illegible]

old age of anxious fears, long detested by Sejanus, now by Macro, always, indeed, by some powerful minister, not for any fault, but as a man who could not tolerate gross iniquities Granted the possibility of passing safely through the few last days of Tiberius How was he to be secure under the youth of the coming sovereign? Was it probable that, when Tiberius with his long experience of affairs was, under the in- [illegible]

who having been selected for his superior wickedness, to crush Sejanus had by yet more numerous crimes been the scourge of the State? He now foresaw a still more galling slavery, and therefore sought to flee alike from the past and from the [illegible]

ed [illegible]

Arruntius rightly chose death. Albucilla, having stabbed herself with an ineffectual wound, was by the Senate's order carried off to prison [illegible]

us Fregellanus were sentenced, respectively, to transportation to an island and to loss of a senator's rank A like punishment was adjudged in the case of Lælius Balbus, and, indeed, with intense satisfaction, as Balbus was noted for his savage eloquence and his eagerness to assail the innocent

49 About the same time Sextus Papinius who [illegible]

ed in her overtures, had at last by her arts and seductions driven him to an extremity from [illegible]

greater weakness of a woman's mind under such [illegible]

of place, he at last settled down on the promontory of Misenum in a country house once owned by Lucius Lucullus There it was noted, in this way, that he was drawing near his end. There was a physician, distinguished in his profession, of the name of Charicles, usually em[illegible]

tion, at any rate, he ordered the banquet to be renewed, and sat at the table longer than usual, by way, apparently, of showing honour to his departing friend Charicles, however, assured [illegible]

on the spot and despatches to the generals and [illegible]

of congratulating followers to take the first p[illegible] session of the empire, when suddenly news ca[illegible] that Tiberius was recovering his voi[illegible] and calling for persons to bring him

revive him from his faintness Then ensued a universal panic, and while the rest fled hither and thither, every one feigning grief or igno- [illegible] emperor to be smothered under a huge heap of clothes, and all to quit the entrance hall

51 And so died Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age Nero was his father, and he was on both sides descended from the Claudian house, though his mother passed by adoption, first into the Livian, then into the Julian family From earliest infancy, perilous vicissitudes were his lot Himself an exile he was the companion of a proscribed father, and on being [illegible] marriage with Julia, whether he tolerated or escaped from his wife's profligacy On his return from Rhodes he ruled the emperor's now heirless house for twelve years, and the Roman world, with absolute sway, for about twenty-three His character too had its distinct periods It was a bright time in his life and reputation, while under Augustus he was a private citizen or held high offices, a time of reserve and crafty [illegible] janus Finally, he plunged into every wickedness and disgrace, when fear and shame being cast off, he simply indulged his own inclinations

[The four following books and the beginning of Book XI, which are lost, contained the history of a period of nearly ten years, from A D 37 to [illegible] the reign of Claudius Caius Cæsar's reign was [illegible]

A.D 41 to A D 54

The Eleventh Book of the Annals opens with the seventh year of Claudius's reign The power of his wife Messalina was then at its height She was, it seems, jealous of a certain Poppæa Sabina, who is mentioned in Book XIII, § 45, as 'having surpassed in beauty all the ladies of [illegible] salina contrived to involve this lady and her lover, Valerius Asiaticus, in a ruinous charge Asiaticus had been twice consul, once under Caius Cæsar, a second time under Claudius in A D 46 He was rich as well as noble The Eleventh Book, as we have it, begins with the account of his prosecution by means of Messalina, who with the help of Lucius Vitellius, the father of the Vitellius, afterwards emperor, effected his ruin ]

## BOOK XI, A D 47, 48

1 Messalina believed that Valerius Asiaticus, [illegible] gun and which Asiaticus was now adorning with singular magnificence, and so she suborned Suilius to accuse both him and Poppæa With Suilius was associated Sosibius, tutor to Britannicus, who was to give Claudius an apparently friendly warning to beware of a power and wealth which threatened the throne Asiaticus, he said, had been the ringleader in the murder of a Cæsar, and then had not feared to face an assembly of the Roman people, to own the deed, and challenge its glory for his own Thus grown famous in the capital, and with a renown wide [illegible] nations allied to his house Claudius made no further inquiry, but sent Crispinus, commander of the Prætorians, with troops in hot haste as though to put down a revolt Crispinus found him at Baiæ, loaded him with chains, and hurried him to Rome

2 No hearing before the Senate was granted him It was in the emperor's chamber, in the presence of Messalina, that he was heard There [illegible]

they will own my manhood ' Then he entered on his defence Claudius he moved profoundly, and he even drew tears from Messalina But as

nature

3 When Claudius began to deliberate about the acquittal of Asiaticus, Vitellius, with tears in his eyes, spoke of his old friendship with the

same tone of mercy Some friends urged on

the treachery of a woman and the shameless

complete was his calmness even to the last

4 The senators were then convoked, and Suilius proceeded to find new victims in two knights of the first rank who bore the surname of Petra The real cause of their destruction was that they had lent their house for the meetings

leaves were white, which he saw, and that he interpreted it to signify the death of the emperor

Fifteen hundred thousand sesterces and the decorations of the prætorship were voted to Crispinus. Vitellius bestowed a million on Sosi

to say what all men say A graceful compro-

rivals By assuming to himself all the functions

Thus it happened that one Samius, a Roman knight of the first rank who had paid four hundred thousand sesterces to Suilius, stabbed

fairest recompense of eloquence And, apart from this," he said, 'the first of noble accomplishments was debased by sordid services, and

tion of the forum might enrich the advocate

So spoke the consul-elect, and others agreed with him A resolution was being framed to bring the guilty under the law of extortion, when Suilius and Cossutianus and the rest, who saw themselves threatened with punishment

be so arrogant as to anticipate in hope an eternity of renown? It is for the needs and the business of life that the resource of eloquence is acquired, thanks to which no one for want of an advocate is at the mercy of the powerful But eloquence cannot be obtained for nothing, private affairs are neglected, in order that a man may devote himself to the business of others Some support life by the profession of arms, some by cultivating land No work is expected from any one of which he has not before calculated the profits It was easy for Asinius and Messala, enriched with the prizes of the conflict between Antony and Augustus, it was easy for Arruntius and Æserninus, the heirs of wealthy families, to assume grand airs We have examples at hand *How great were the fees for which* Publius Clodius and Caius Curio were wont to speak! We are ordinary senators, seeking in the tranquillity of the State for none but peaceful gains You must consider the plebeian, how he gains distinction from the gown Take away the rewards of a profession, and the profession

to ten thousand sesterces, and those who exceeded this limit were to be liable to the penalties of extortion

8 About this same time Mithridates, of whom

who was king of the Iberians and Mithridates' brother, now told him that the Parthians were divided, and that the highest questions of empire being uncertain, lesser matters were neglected Gotarzes, among his many cruelties, had caused the death of his brother Artabanus, with his wife and son Hence his people feared for themselves and sent for Vardanes Ever ready for daring achievements, Vardanes traversed 375 miles in two days, and drove before him the surprised and terrified Gotarzes Without a mo-

compelled to raise the siege of Seleucia, encamped on the plains of Bactria

9 Then it was that while the forces of the East were divided, and hesitated which side they should take, the opportunity of occupying Armenia was presented to Mithridates, who had the vigorous soldiers of Rome to storm the fortified heights, while his Iberian cavalry scoured the plain The Armenians made no resistance after their governor, Demonax, had ventured on a battle and had been routed Cotys, king of Lesser Armenia, to whom some of the nobles inclined, caused some delay, but he was stopped by a despatch from Claudius, and then everything passed into the hands of Mithridates, who showed more cruelty than was wise in a new

tation, then, joining right hands, they promised before the altars of their gods to punish the treachery of their enemies and to yield one to the other Vardanes seemed more capable of

the Parthians, whom a single city had so long defied

10 He then visited the strongest governments, and was eager to recover Armenia but was stopped by Vibius Marsus, governor of Syria, who threatened war Meanwhile Gotarzes, who

the passage, Vardanes winning a complete victory, and in a series of successful engagements subduing the intermediate tribes as far as the river Sindes, which is the boundary between the Dahæ and the Arians There his successes

he returned covered with glory, and therefore the more haughty and more intolerable to his

among aged princes, had he sought to be loved by his subjects as much as to be feared by his foes

The murder of Vardanes threw the affairs of Parthia into confusion, as the people were in doubt who should be summoned to the throne Many inclined to Gotarzes, some to Meherdates, a descendant of Phraates, who was a hostage in our hands Finally Gotarzes prevailed Established in the palace, he drove the Parthians by his cruelty and profligacy to send a secret entreaty to the Roman emperor that Meherdates might be allowed to mount the throne of his ancestors

11 It was during this consulship, in the eight hundredth year after the foundation of Rome and the sixty fourth after their celebration by Augustus that the secular games were exhibited I say nothing of the calculations of the two princes, which I have sufficiently discussed in my history of the emperor Domitian; for he also exhibited secular games, at which indeed being one of the priesthood of the Fifteen and prætor at the time, I specially assisted It is in no [illegible]

[illegible] manicus, the emperor s son, and Lucius Domitius, who became soon afterwards by adoption heir to the empire with the surname of Nero. The stronger popular enthusiasm which greeted him was taken to presage his greatness It was commonly reported that snakes had been seen by his cradle, which they seemed to guard, a fabulous tale invented to match the marvels of other lands Nero, never a disparager of himself, was wont to say that but one snake, at most, had been seen in his chamber.

12 Something however of popular favour was bequeathed to him from the remembrance of Germanicus, whose only male descendant he was, and the pity felt for his mother Agrippina was increased by the cruelty of Messalina, who, always her enemy, and then more furious than ever, was only kept from planning an accusation and suborning informers by a new and almost insane passion She had grown so frantically enamoured of Caius Silius, the handsomest [illegible]

but a refusal would have insured destruction, and he had some hope of escaping exposure, the prize too was great, and so he consoled himself by awaiting the future and enjoying the present As for her, careless of concealment, she went continually with a numerous retinue to his house, she haunted his steps, showered on him wealth and honours, and, at last, as though empire had passed to another, the slaves, the freedmen, the very furniture of the emperor were to be seen in the possession of the paramour.

[illegible]

lawlessness of the people in the theatre, when they insulted Caius Pomponius, an ex-consul, who furnished verses for the stage, and certain [illegible]

[illegible] bet had not been completed at once [illegible]

[illegible] the teacher of this art to its yet barbarous tribes According to one account, it was Cecrops of Athens or Linus of Thebes, or Palamedes of [illegible] who invented the shapes [illegible]

[illegible] letters have the same form as the oldest Greek characters At first too our alphabet was scanty, and additions were afterwards made. Follow- [illegible]

as he said, "the oldest of Italian sciences might not be lost through negligence It had often happened in evil days for the State that advisers had been summoned at whose suggestion ceremonies had been restored and observed more duly for the future The nobles of Etruria, whether of their own accord or at the instigation of the Roman Senate, had retained this science, making it the inheritance of distinct families It was now less zealously studied through the general indifference to all sound learning and to the growth of foreign superstitions At present all is well, but we must show gratitude to the favour of Heaven by taking care that the rites observed during times of peril may not be forgotten in prosperity' A resolution of the Senate was accordingly passed, charging the pontiffs to see what should be retained or reformed with respect to the haruspices"

16 It was in this same year that the Cherusci asked Rome for a king They had lost all their nobles in their civil wars and there was left but one scion of the royal house, Italicus by name, who lived at Rome On the father's side he was descended from Flavus, the brother of Arminius, his mother was a daughter of Catumerus, chief of the Chatti The youth himself was of distinguished beauty a skilful horseman and swordsman both after our fashion and that of his country So the emperor made him a present of money, furnished him with an escort, and bade him enter with a good heart on the honours of his house "Never before, he said, had a native of Rome, no hostage but a citizen, gone to mount a foreign throne.' At first his arrival was welcome to the Germans, and they crowded to pay him court, for he was untainted by any spirit of faction, and showed the same hearty goodwill to all, practising sometimes the courtesy and temperance which can never offend, but oftener those excesses of wine and lust in which barbarians delight He was winning fame among his neighbours and even far beyond them, when some who had found their fortune in party feuds, jealous of his power, fled to the tribes on the border, protesting that Germany was being robbed of her ancient freedom, and that the might of Rome was on the rise 'Is there really," they said, no native of this country to fill the place of king without raising the son of the spy Flavus above all his fellows? It is idle to put forward the name of Arminius Had even the son of Arminius come to the throne after growing to manhood on a hostile soil, he might well be dreaded, corrupted as he would be by the bread of dependence, by slavery, by luxury, by all foreign habits But if Italicus had his father's spirit, no man, be it remembered, had ever waged war against his country and his home more savagely than that father"

17 By these and like appeals they collected a large force No less numerous were the partisans of Italicus 'He was no intruder,' they said, 'on an unwilling people, he had obeyed a call Superior as he was to all others in noble birth, should they not put his valour to the test, and see whether he showed himself worthy of his uncle Arminius and his grandfather Catumerus? He need not blush because his father had never relinquished the loyalty which with the consent of the Germans, he had promised to Rome The name of liberty was a lying pretext in the mouths of men who, base in private, dangerous in public life, had nothing to hope except from civil discord"

The people enthusiastically applauded him. After a fierce conflict among the barbarians, the king was victorious Subsequently, in his good fortune, he fell into a despot's pride, was dethroned, was restored by the help of the Langobardi, and still, in prosperity or adversity, did mischief to the interests of the Cheruscan nation

18 It was during the same period that the Chauci, free, as it happened, from dissension at home and emboldened by the death of Sanquinius, made, while Corbulo was on his way, an inroad into Lower Germany, under the leadership of Gannascus This man was of the tribe of the Canninefates, had served long as our auxiliary, had then deserted, and, getting some light vessels, had made piratical descents specially on the coast of Gaul, inhabited, he knew, by a wealthy and unwarlike population Corbulo meanwhile entered the province with careful preparation and soon winning a renown of which that campaign was the beginning, he brought his triremes up the channel of the Rhine and the rest of his vessels up the estuaries and canals to which they were adapted Having sunk the enemy's flotilla, driven out Gannascus, and brought everything into good order, he restored the discipline of former days among legions which had forgotten the labours and toils of the soldier and delighted only in plunder No one was to fall out of the line, no one was to fight without orders At the outposts, on guard, in the duties of day and of night, they were always to be under arms One soldier, it was said, had suffered death for working at the trenches without his sword, another for wearing nothing as he dug, but his poniard

These extreme and possibly false stories at least had their origin in the general's real severity. We may be sure that he was strict and implacable to serious offences, when such sternness in regard to trifles could be believed of him

19 The fear thus inspired variously affected his own troops and the enemy Our men gained fresh valour; the barbarians felt their pride broken The Frisians, who had been hostile or disloyal since the revolt which had been begun by the defeat of Lucius Apronius, gave hostages and settled down on territories marked out by Corbulo, who, at the same time, gave them a

attempt on the life of a deserter and a traitor was not unsuccessful, nor was it anything ignoble. Yet the Chauci were violently roused by the man's death, and Corbulo was now sowing the

of the Rhine

20 Corbulo was actually preparing to encamp on hostile soil when the despatch reached him Surprised, as he was, and many as were the thoughts which crowded on him, thoughts

keep his soldiers free from sloth, he dug a canal of twenty three miles in length between the Rhine and the Meuse, as a means of avoiding the uncertain perils of the ocean The emperor, though he had forbidden war, yet granted him triumphal distinctions.

Soon afterwards Curtius Rufus obtained the

only to a loss, while they dug channels for water and constructed below the surface works which are difficult enough in the open air. Worn out by the labour, and knowing that similar hardships were endured in several provinces, the soldiers wrote a secret despatch in the name of the armies, begging the emperor to give in advance triumphal distinctions to any one to whom he was about to entrust his forces

21 Of the birth of Curtius Rufus, whom some affirm to have been the son of a gladiator, I would not publish a falsehood, while I shrink from telling the truth On reaching manhood he attached himself to a quæstor to whom Africa had been allotted, and was walking alone at midday in some unfrequented arcade in the town of Adrumetum, when he saw a female figure of more than human stature, and heard a voice, "Thou, Rufus, art the man who will one day come into this province as proconsul" Raised high in hope by such a presage, he re

22 At Rome meanwhile, without any motive then known or subsequently ascertained, Cneius Nonius, a Roman knight, was found wearing a sword amid a crowd who were paying their respects to the emperor The man confessed his own guilt when he was being torn in pieces by torture, but gave up no accomplices, perhaps having none to hide

During the same consulship, Publius Dolabella proposed that a spectacle of gladiators

stowed this office as well as others The first so created were Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus sixty three years after th

the Tarquins, and they were to be attached to the war department As the public business increased two more were appointed to attend to affairs at Rome This number was again doubled, when to the contributions of Italy was added the tribute of the provinces Subsequently Sulla, by one of his laws, provided that twenty should be elected to fill up the Senate, to which he had intrusted judicial functions These functions the knights afterwards recovered, but the quæstorship was obtained without expense, by merit in the candidates or by the good nature of the electors, till at Dolabella s suggestion it was, so to speak, put up to sale

23 In the consulship of Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipstanus the question of filling up the Senate was discussed and the chief men of Gal

kind on the subject, and it was argued before the emperor with vehement opposition "Italy," it was asserted, is not so feeble as to be unable to furnish its own capital with a senate Once our native born citizens sufficed for peoples of our own kin, and we are by no means dissatisfied with the Rome of the past To this day we cite examples, which under our old customs the Roman character exhibited as to valour and renown Is it a small thing that Veneti and Insubres have already burst into the Senate house, unless a mob of foreigners, a troop of captives, so to say, is now forced upon us? What distinctions will be left for the remnants of our noble houses, or for any impoverished senators from Latium? Every place will be crowded with these millionaires, whose ancestors of the second and third generations at the head of hostile tribes destroyed our armies with fire and sword, and actually besieged the divine Julius at Alesia These are recent memories What if there were to rise up the remembrance of those who fell in Rome's citadel and at her altar by the hands of these same barbarians! Let them enjoy indeed the title of citizens, but let them not vulgarise the distinctions of the Senate and the honours of office '

24 These and like arguments failed to impress the emperor He at once addressed himself to answer them and thus harangued the assembled Senate ' My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encourage me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found And indeed I know, as facts, that the Julii came from Alba, the Coruncanii from Camerium, the Porcii from Tusculum, and not to inquire too minutely into the past, that new members have been brought into the Senate from Etruria and Lucania and the whole of Italy, that Italy itself was at last extended to the Alps, to the end that not only single persons but entire countries and tribes might be united under our name We had unshaken peace at home, we prospered in all our foreign relations, in the days when Italy beyond the Po was admitted to share our citizenship, and when, enrolling in our ranks the most vigorous of the provincials, under colour of settling our legions throughout the world, we recruited our exhausted empire Are we sorry that the Balbi came to us from Spain, and other men not less illustrious from Narbon Gaul? Their descendants are still among us, and do not yield to us in patriotism

"What was the ruin of Sparta and Athens, but this, that mighty as they were in war, they spurned from them as aliens those whom they had conquered? Our founder Romulus, on the other hand was so wise that he fought as enemies and then hailed as fellow-citizens several nations on the very same day Strangers have reigned over us That freedmen s sons should be intrusted with public offices is not, as many wrongly think, a sudden innovation, but was a common practice in the old commonwealth But, it will be said, we have fought with the Senones I suppose then that the Volsci and Æqui never stood in array against us Our city was taken by the Gauls Well, we also gave hostages to the Etruscans, and passed under the yoke of the Samnites On the whole, if you review all our wars, never has one been finished in a shorter time than that with the Gauls Thenceforth they have preserved an unbroken and loyal peace United as they now are with us by manners, education, and intermarriage, let them bring us their gold and their wealth rather than enjoy it in isolation Everything, Senators, which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity, was once new Plebeian magistrates came after patrician, Latin magistrates

decree of the Senate, and the Ædui were the first to obtain the right of becoming senators at Rome This compliment was paid to their ancient alliance, and to the fact that they alone of

the Gauls cling to the name of brothers of the Roman people

About the same time the emperor enrolled in the ranks of the patricians such senators as were of the oldest families, and such as had had distinguished ancestors There were now but scanty relics of the Greater Houses of Romulus and of the Lesser Houses of Lucius Brutus, as they had been called, and those too were exhausted which the Dictator Cæsar by the Cassian and the emperor Augustus by the Sænian law had chosen into their place These acts, as being welcome to the State, were undertaken with hearty gladness by the imperial censor Anxiously considering how he was to rid the Senate of men of notorious infamy, he preferred a gentle method, recently devised, to one which accorded with

who had been allowed to retire, that by this confounding together of the decision of the censors and the modesty of voluntary resignation the disgrace might be softened.

For this, the consul Vipstanus moved that Claudius should be called "Father of the Senate" The title of "Father of the Country" had, he argued, been indiscriminately bestowed, new

ness as to his domestic affairs He was soon compelled to notice and punish his wife's infamies, till he afterwards craved passionately for an unhallowed union

26 Messalina, now grown weary of the very facility of her adulteries, was rushing into strange excesses, when even Silius, either through some fatal infatuation or because he imagined that, amid the dangers which hung over him, danger itself was the best safety, urged the breaking off of all concealment "They were not," he said, "in such an extremity as to have to wait for the emperor's old age Harmless measures were for the innocent. Crime once exposed had no refuge but in audacity They had accomplices in all who feared the same fate. For himself, as he had neither wife nor child, he was ready to marry and to adopt Britannicus Messalina would have the same power as before, with the additional advantage of a quiet mind, if only they took Claudius by surprise, who, though unsuspicious of treachery, was hasty in his wrath"

The suggestion was coldly received, not because the lady loved her husband, but from a fear that Silius, after attaining his highest hopes, would spurn an adulteress, and soon estimate at its true value the crime which in the midst of peril he had approved But she craved the name

solemnities of marriage

27 I am well aware that it will seem a fable that any persons in the world could have been so obtuse in a city which knows everything and hides nothing, much more, that these persons should have been a consul-elect and the emperor's wife, that, on an appointed day, before witnesses duly summoned, they should have come together as if for the purpose of legitimate marriage, that she should have listened to the words of the bridegroom's friends, should have sacrificed to the gods, have taken her place

story to excite wonder, I do but relate what I have heard and what our fathers have recorded.

28 The emperor's court indeed shuddered, its powerful personages especially, the men who

himself into the imperial chamber, it certainly brought scandal on the State, but we were a long way from ruin Now, a young noble of stately beauty, of vigorous intellect, with the near prospect of the consulship, is preparing

the height of favour, debated whether they might not by secret threats turn Messalina from her passion for Silius, while they concealed all else Then fearing that they would be them selves involved in ruin, they abandoned the idea, Pallas out of cowardice, and Callistus, from his experience of a former court, remem bering that prudent rather than vigorous coun sels insure the maintenance of power Narcis sus persevered, only so far changing his plan as not to make her aware beforehand by a single word what was the charge or who was the accuser Then he eagerly watched his oppor tunity, and, as the emperor lingered long at Ostia, he sought two of the mistresses to whose society Claudius was especially partial, and, by gifts, by promises, by dwelling on power in creased by the wife s fall he induced them to undertake the work of the informer

30 On this, Calpurnia (that was the woman's name), as soon as she was allowed a private interview, threw herself at the emperor s knees, crying out that Messalina was married to Silius At the same time she asked Cleopatra, who was standing near and waiting for the question, whether she knew it Cleopatra nodding assent, she begged that Narcissus might be summoned Narcissus entreated pardon for the past, for having concealed the scandal while confined to a Vettius or a Plautius Even now, he said, he

once, of the new husband is master of Rome

31 Claudius then summoned all his most powerful friends First he questioned Turrani us, superintendent of the corn market, next, Lusius Geta, who commanded the prætorians When they confessed the truth, the whole com pany clamoured in concert that he must go to

representation of the vintage in her new home The presses were being trodden, the vats were overflowing, women girt with skins were dancing, as Bacchanals dance in their worship or their frenzy Messalina with flowing hair shook the thyrsus, and Silius at her side, crowned with ivy and wearing the buskin moved his head to some lascivious chorus It is said that one Vet tius Valens climbed a very lofty tree in sport, and when they asked him what he saw, replied 'A terrible storm from Ostia" Possibly some

The other guests were flying in all directions when the centurions appeared and put every one in irons where they found them either in the public streets or in hiding Messalina though her peril took away all power of thought, promptly resolved to meet and face her hus band, a course in which she had often found safety, while she bade Britannicus and Octavia hasten to embrace their father She besought Vibidia, the eldest of the Vestal Virgins, to de mand audience of the supreme pontiff and to beg for mercy Meanwhile, with only three companions, so lonely did she find herself in a moment, she traversed the whole length of the city, and, mounting on a cart used to remove garden refuse, proceeded along the road to Ostia, not pitied, so overpoweringly hideous were her crimes, by a single person

33 There was equal alarm on the emperor's side They put but little trust in Geta, who commanded the prætorians, a man swayed with equal ease to good or evil Narcissus in concert with others who dreaded the same fate, de clared that the only hope of safety for the em

took a seat in the emperor's carriage

34 It was currently reported in after times that while the emperor broke into contradic tory exclamations, now inveighing against the infamies of his wife, and now returning in

when the accuser roared out at her the story of Silius and her marriage At the same moment, to draw Cæsar's eyes away from her, he handed him some papers which detailed her debaucheries. Soon afterwards, as he was entering Rome, his children by Messalina were to have shown themselves, had not Narcissus ordered their removal Vibidia he could not repel, when, with a vehemently indignant appeal, she demanded that a wife should not be given up to death without a hearing. So Narcissus replied that the emperor would hear her, and that she should have an opportunity of disproving the charge Meanwhile the holy virgin was to go and discharge her sacred duties

35 All throughout, Claudius preserved a strange silence; Vitellius seemed unconscious. Everything was under the freedman's control. By his order, the paramour's house was thrown open and the emperor conducted thither First, on the threshold, he pointed out the statue of Silius's father, which a decree of the Senate had directed to be destroyed, next, how the heirlooms of the Neros and the Drusi had been degraded into the price of infamy Then he led the emperor, furious and bursting out in menace, into the camp, where the soldiers were purposely assembled Claudius spoke to them a few words at the dictation of Narcissus. Shame indeed checked the utterance even of a righteous anger. Instantly there came a shout from the cohorts, demanding the names of the culprits and their punishment Brought before the tribunal, Silius sought neither defence nor delay, but begged that his death might be hastened A like courage made several Roman

Saufellus Trogus from among her accomplices, were ordered to execution Decius Calpurnianus too, commander of the watch, Sulpicius Rufus, who had the charge of the Games, and Juncus Virgilianus, a senator, were similarly punished

36. Mnester alone occasioned a pause Rending off his clothes, he insisted on Claudius looking at the scars of his stripes and remembering his words when he surrendered himself, without reserve, to Messalina's bidding The guilt of others had been the result of presents or of large promises, his, of necessity. He must have been the first victim had Silius obtained empire.

Cæsar was touched by his appeal and inclined to mercy, but his freedmen prevailed on him not to let any indulgence be shown to a player when so many illustrious citizens had fallen "It mattered not whether he had sinned so greatly from choice or compulsion" Even the defence of Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, was not admitted A young man of pure life, yet of singular beauty, he had been summoned and dismissed within the space of one night by Messalina, who was equally capricious in her passions and dislikes In the cases of Suilius Cæsoninus and Plautius Lateranus, the extreme penalty was remitted The latter was saved by the distinguished services of his uncle, the former by his very vices, having amid that abominable throng submitted to the worst degradation.

37 Messalina meanwhile, in the gardens of Lucullus, was struggling for life, and writing letters of entreaty, as she alternated between

early banquet, then, in softened mood, when

turning, and fearing, in the event of delay, the

freedmen, was appointed to watch and complete the affair Hurrying on before with all speed to the gardens, he found Messalina stretched upon the ground, while by her side sat Lepida, her mother, who, though estranged from her daughter in prosperity, was now melted to pity by her inevitable doom, and urged her not to wait for the executioner "Life," she said, "was over, all that could be looked for was honour in death" But in that heart, utterly corrupted by profligacy, nothing noble remained She still prolonged her tears and idle complaints, ti the gates were forced open by

new comers, and there stood at her side the tribune, sternly silent, and the freedman, over whelming her with the copious insults of a servile tongue

38 Then for the first time she understood her fate and put her hand to a dagger In her terror she was applying it ineffectually to her throat and breast, when a blow from the tribune drove it through her Her body was given up to her mother Claudius was still at the ban quet when they told him that Messalina was dead, without mentioning whether it was by her own or another s hand Nor did he ask the question, but called for the cup and finished his repast as usual During the days which fol lowed he showed no sign of hatred or joy or *anger or sadness in a word, of any human emo*tion, either when he looked on her triumphant accusers or on her weeping children The Sen ate assisted his forgetfulness by decreeing that her name and her statues should be removed from all places, public or private To Narcissus were voted the decorations of the quæstorship, a mere trifle to the pride of one who rose in the height of his power above Pallas and Callistus

## BOOK XII, A D 48–54

1 The destruction of Messalina shook the im perial house for a strife arose among the freed men, who should choose a wife for Claudius, impatient as he was of a single life and submissive to the rule of wives The ladies were fired with no less jealousy Each insisted on her rank, beauty, and fortune, and pointed to her claims to such a marriage But the keenest competi [illegible]

tina however, of the family of the Tuberones, had the support of Narcissus The emperor, who inclined now one way, now another, as he listened to this or that adviser, summoned the disputants to a conference and bade them ex press their opinions and give their reasons

2 Narcissus dwelt on the marriage of years gone by, on the tie of offspring, for Pætina was the mother of Antonia, and on the advantage of excluding a new element from his household, by the return of a wife to whom he was [illegible]

to her own children Callistus argued that she was compromised by her long separation, and that were she to be taken back, she would be supercilious on the strength of it It would be far better to introduce Lollia, for, as she had no children of her own, she would be free from jealousy, and would take the place of a mother towards her stepchildren

Pallas again selected Agrippina for special commendation because she would bring with her Germanicus's grandson, who was thorough ly worthy of imperial rank, the scion of a noble house and a link to unite the descendants of the Claudian family He hoped that a woman who was the mother of many children and still in the freshness of youth, would not carry off the [illegible]

cle, and so won his heart, that she was prefer red to the others, and, though not yet his wife already possessed a wife s power For as soon as she was sure of her marriage, she began to [illegible]

could not be accomplished without a crime, for the emperor had betrothed Octavia to Lucius Silanus, a young man otherwise famous, whom he had brought forward as a candidate for popu lar favour by the honour of triumphal distinc tions and by a magnificent gladiatorial show But no difficulty seemed to be presented by the temper of a sovereign who had neither partial ities nor dislikes, but such as were suggested and dictated to him

4 Vitellius accordingly, who used the name of censor to screen a slave s trickeries, and look ed forward to new despotisms, already impend ing associated himself in Agrippina's plans, [illegible]

a starting point for an accuser Vitellius pu an infamous construction on the somewhat in [illegible]

plot, and happened that year to be prætor, was suddenly expelled from the Senate by an edict of Vitellius, though the roll of Senators had *been recently reviewed and the lustrum* closed Claudius at the same time broke off the con nection, Silanus was forced to resign his office,

and the one remaining day of his prætorship was conferred on Eprius Marcellus

5 In the year of the consulship of Caius Pompeius and Quintus Veranius, the marriage arranged between Claudius and Agrippina was confirmed both by popular rumour and by their own illicit love. Still, they did not yet dare to celebrate the nuptials in due form, for there was no precedent for the introduction of a niece in- [illegible]

[illegible] tions of the people and to the authority of the Senate When Claudius replied that he was one among the citizens and could not resist their unanimous voice, Vitellius requested him to wait in the palace, while he himself went to the Senate. Protesting that the supreme interest of the commonwealth was at stake, he begged to be allowed to speak first, and then began to urge that the very burdensome labours of the emperor in a world wide administration, required assistance, so that, free from domestic cares he might consult the public welfare How again could there be a more virtuous relief for the mind of an imperial censor than the taking of a wife to share his prosperity and his troubles, to whom he might intrust his inmost thoughts and the care of his young children, unused as he was to luxury and pleasure, and wont from his earliest youth to obey the laws

[illegible]

proof too that she is not barren, and she has suitable moral qualities It is, again, a singular advantage to us, due to divine providence, for a widow to be united to an emperor who has limited himself to his own lawful wives We have heard from our fathers, we have ourselves seen that married women were seized at the caprice of the Cæsars This is quite alien to the propriety of our day Rather let a precedent be now set for the taking of a wife by an emperor. But, it will be said, marriage with a brother's daughter is with us a novelty True, but it is common in other countries, and there is no law to forbid it Marriages of cousins were long unknown, but after a time they became frequent. Custom adapts itself to expediency, and this novelty will hereafter take its place among recognized usages"

7 There were some who rushed out of the Senate, passionately protesting that if the emperor hesitated, they would use violence A promiscuous throng assembled, and kept exclaiming that the same too was the prayer of the Roman people Claudius without further delay presented himself in the forum to their con gratulations, then entering the Senate, he asked from them a decree which should decide that for the future marriages between uncles and brothers' daughters should be legal There was, [illegible]

tion in the State, and everything was under the control of a woman, who did not, like Messalina, insult Rome by loose manners It was a [illegible]

[illegible] of her kindness, and an [illegible] to Claudius from a [illegible] of wrong [illegible]

9 It was then resolved to delay no [illegible] Memmius Pollio, the consul-elect, was [illegible] by great promises to deliver a speech [illegible] Claudius to betroth Octavia to Do[illegible] match was not [illegible] to the [illegible]

and was likely to develop still more important results. Pollio introduced the motion in much the same language as Vitellius had lately used. So Octavia was betrothed, and Domitius, besides his previous relationship, became now the emperor's affianced son in law, and an equal of [illegible] of her son

10 About the same time an embassy from the Parthians, which had been sent, as I have stated, to solicit the return of Meherdates, was intro- [illegible] their coming imply any revolt from the family of the Arsacids; indeed, even the son of Vonones, Phraates's grandson, was with them in their resistance to the despotism of Gotarzes, which was alike intolerable to the nobility and to the people Already brothers, relatives, and distant kin had been swept off by murder after murder, wives actually pregnant, and tender children were added to Gotarzes' victims, while, slothful at home and unsuccessful in war, he made cruelty a screen for his feebleness Between the Parthians and ourselves there was an [illegible] it might fall back on the emperor and the Senate, and receive from them a better sovereign, familiar with Roman habits "

11 In answer to these and like arguments Claudius began to speak of the grandeur of Rome and the submissive attitude of the Parthians. He compared himself to the Divine Augustus, from whom, he reminded them, they had sought a king, but omitted to mention Ti- [illegible] with her glory, had reached such a height that she wished even foreign nations to enjoy repose" Upon this Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, was commissioned to escort the young prince to the bank of the Euphrates

12. Cassius was at that time pre-eminent for legal learning The profession of the soldier is forgotten in a quiet period, and peace reduces the enterprising and indolent to an equality. But Cassius, as far as it was possible without war, revived ancient discipline, kept exercising the legions, in short, used as much diligence and precaution as if an enemy were threatening him This conduct he counted worthy of his ancestors and of the Cassian family which had won renown even in those countries

He then summoned those at whose suggestion a king had been sought from Rome, and having encamped at Zeugma where the river was most easily fordable and awaited the arrival of the chief men of Parthia and of Acbarus, king of the Arabs, he reminded Meherdates that the impulsive enthusiasm of barbarians soon flags [illegible] Carenes pressed them to come and promised easy success if they hastened their arrival, they did not make for Mesopotamia, which was close to them, but, by a long détour, for Armenia, then ill suited to their movements, as winter was beginning

13 As they approached the plains, wearied with the snows and mountains, they were joined by the forces of Carenes, and having crossed the river Tigris they traversed the country of the Adiabeni, whose king Izates had avowedly embraced the alliance of Meherdates, though secretly and in better faith he inclined to Gotarzes In their march they captured the city of Ninos, the most ancient capital of Assyria, and a fortress, historically famous, as the spot where in the last battle between Darius and Alexander the power of Persia fell Gotarzes meantime was offering vows to the local divinities on a mountain called Sambulos, with special worship of Hercules, who at a stated time bids the priests in a dream equip horses for the chase and place them near his temple When the horses have been laden with quivers full of arrows, they scour the forest and at length return at night with empty quivers, panting violently. Again the god in a vision of the night reveals to them the track along which he roamed through the

woods, and everywhere slaughtered beasts are found

14 Gotarzes, his army not being yet in sufficient force, made the river Corma a line of defence, and though he was challenged to an engagement by taunting messages, he contrived delays, shifted his positions and sent emissaries to corrupt the enemy and bribe them to throw off their allegiance. Izates of the Adiabeni and then Acbarus of the Arabs deserted with their troops, with their countrymen's characteristic fickleness [illegible]

[illegible] thing and try the issue of a battle Nor did Gotarzes, who was emboldened by the enemy's diminished strength, refuse the challenge They fought with terrible courage and doubtful result, till Carenes, who having beaten down all resistance had advanced too far, was surprised by a fresh detachment in his rear Then Meherdates in despair yielded to promises from Parrhaces, one of his father's adherents, and was by his [illegible]

[illegible] was summoned to the throne He was memorable neither for his good nor bad fortune, he completed a short and inglorious reign, and then the empire of Parthia passed to his son Vologeses

15 Mithridates of Bosporus, meanwhile, who had lost his power and was a mere outcast, on [illegible]

[illegible] daridæ, and possessed himself of his dominions. When this was known, and the invasion of Bosporus was every moment expected, Aquila and [illegible]

[illegible] envoys to Eunones, who was then chief of the Adorsi. There was no difficulty about alliance, when they pointed to the power of Rome in contrast with the rebel Mithridates It was accordingly stipulated that Eunones should engage the enemy with his cavalry, and the Romans undertake the siege of towns

16 Then the army advanced in regular formation, the Adorsi in the van and the rear, while the centre was strengthened by the cohorts, and native troops of Bosporus with Roman arms. Thus the enemy was defeated, and they reached Soza, a town in Dandarica, which Mithridates had abandoned, where it was thought expedient to leave a garrison, as the temper of the people was uncertain Next they marched on the Siraci, and after crossing the river Panda besieged the city of Uspe, which stood on high ground, and had the defence of walls and fosses; only the walls, not being of stone, but of hurdles and wicker work with earth between, were too weak to resist an assault Towers were raised to [illegible]

[illegible] mercy for the freeborn, and offering ten thousand slaves As it would have been inhuman to slay the prisoners, and very difficult to keep [illegible]

[illegible] of Uspe struck terror into the rest of the people, [illegible]

[illegible] to have come after a bloodless victory within three days' march of the river *Tanais In their* return however fortune was not equally favourable, some of their vessels, as they were sailing back, were driven on the shores of the Tauri and cut off by the barbarians, who slew the commander of a cohort and several centurions

18. Meanwhile Mithridates, finding arms an unavailing resource, considered on whose mercy he was to throw himself. He feared his brother Cotys, who had once been a traitor, then become his open enemy. No Roman was on the

spot of authority sufficient to make his promises highly valued So he turned to Eunones, who had no personal animosity against him, and had been lately strengthened by his alliance with us. Adapting his dress and expression of countenance as much as possible to his present condition, he entered the palace, and throwing himself at the feet of Eunones he exclaimed, "Mithridates, whom the Romans have sought so many years by land and sea, stands before you by his own choice Deal as you please with the descendant of the great Achæmenes, the only glory of which enemies have not robbed me"

19 The great name of Mithridates, his reverse, his prayer, full of dignity, deeply affected Eu- [illegible]

letter to this effect, that friendship between emperors of Rome and sovereigns of powerful peoples was primarily based on a similarity of fortune, and that between himself and Claudius there was the tie of a common victory Wars had glorious endings, whenever matters were settled by an amnesty The conquered Zorsines had on this principle been deprived of nothing. For Mithridates, as he deserved heavier punishment, he asked neither power nor dominions, only that he might not be led in triumph, and pay the penalty of death

20 Claudius, though merciful to foreign princes, was yet in doubt whether it were better to receive the captive with a promise of safety or to claim his surrender by the sword. To this last he was urged by resentment at his wrongs, and by thirst for vengeance On the [illegible]

perils of precipitancy; that the glory of victory would be small, while much disgrace would ensue on defeat. Why should not the emperor seize the offer and spare the exile, whose punishment would be the greater, the longer he lived *in poverty?*

Moved by these considerations, Claudius wrote to Eunones that Mithridates had certain- [illegible]

showed persistence against a foe. As for triumphs, they were won over nations and kings hitherto unconquered.

21. After this, Mithridates was given up and brought to Rome by Junius Cilo, the procurator of Pontus There in the emperor's presence he was said to have spoken too proudly for his position, and words uttered by him to the following effect became the popular talk· "I have not been sent, but have come back to you, if you do not believe me, let me go and pursue me" He stood too with fearless countenance when he was exposed to the people's gaze near the Rostra, under military guard To Cilo and Aquila were voted, respectively, the consular and prætorian decorations.

22 In the same consulship, Agrippina, who was terrible in her hatred and detested Lollia, for having competed with her for the emperor's hand, planned an accusation, through an informer who was to tax her with having consulted astrologers and magicians and the image of the Clarian Apollo, about the imperial marriage Upon this, Claudius, without hearing the accused, first reminded the Senate of her illustrious rank, that the sister of Lucius Volusius was her mother, Cotta Messalinus her granduncle, [illegible]

ly, her property should be confiscated, and she herself banished from Italy. Thus out of immense wealth only five million sesterces were left to the exile. Calpurnia too, a lady of high rank, was ruined, simply because the emperor had praised her beauty in a casual remark, without any passion for her And so Agrippina's resentment stopped short of extreme vengeance. A tribune was despatched to Lollia, who was to force her to suicide. Next on the prosecution of the Bithynians, Cadius Rufus, was condemned under the law against extortion.

23 Narbon Gaul, for its special reverence of the Senate, received a privilege Senators be- [illegible]

mus and Agrippa, were annexed to the province of Syria.

It was also decided that the augury of the pub- [illegible]

ered precincts of the capital, in conformity with the ancient usage, according to which, those

who had enlarged the empire were permitted also to extend the boundaries of Rome But Ro-

24 There are various popular accounts of the ambitious and vainglorious efforts of our kings in this matter Still, I think, it is interesting to know accurately the original plan of the precinct, as it was fixed by Romulus From the ox market, where we see the brazen statue of a bull, because that animal is yoked to the plough, a furrow was drawn to mark out the town, so as to embrace the great altar of Hercules then, at regular intervals, stones were placed along the foot of the Palatine hill to the altar of Consus, soon afterwards, to the old Courts, and then to the chapel of Larunda The Roman forum and the Capitol were not, it was supposed, added to the city by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius In time, the precinct was enlarged with the growth of Rome s fortunes The boundaries now fixed by Claudius may be easily recognized, as they are specified in the public records

25 In the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Suilius, the adoption of Domitius was hastened on by the influence of Pallas Bound to Agrippina, first as the promoter of her marriage, then as her paramour, he still urged Claudius to think of the interests of the State, and to provide some support for the tender years of Britannicus So he said, it had been with

him'

Overcome by these arguments, the emperor preferred Domitius to his own son though he was but two years older, and made a speech in the senate, the same in substance as the representations of his freedman It was noted by learned men, that no previous example of adoption into the patrician family of the Claudii was to be found, and that from Attus Clausus there had been one unbroken line

26 However, the emperor received formal thanks, and still more elaborate flattery was paid to Domitius A law was passed, adopting him into the Claudian family with the name of Nero Agrippina too was honoured with the title of Augusta When this had been done, there was not a person so void of pity as not to feel keen sorrow at the position of Britannicus Gradually forsaken by the very slaves who waited on him, he turned into ridicule the ill timed attentions of his stepmother, perceiving their insincerity For he is said to have had by no means a dull understanding and this is either a fact, or perhaps his perils won him sympathy, and so he possessed the credit of it, without actual evidence

27 Agrippina, to show her power even to the allied nations, procured the despatch of a colony of veterans to the chief town of the Ubii, where she was born The place was named after her Agrippa, her grandfather, had as it happened, received this tribe when they crossed the Rhine under our protection

During the same time, there was a panic in Upper Germany through an irruption of plun

left cut off the plunderers just on their return, after a riotous enjoyment of their spoil, when they were heavy with sleep It added to the men's joy that they had rescued from slavery after forty years some survivors of the defeat of Varus

28 The column which took the right hand and the shorter route inflicted greater loss on the enemy who met them, and ventured on a battle With much spoil and glory they returned to Mount Taunus where Pomponius was waiting with the legions to see whether the Chatti, in their eagerness for vengeance, would give

his reign he was renowned and popular with his countrymen but subsequently, with long

treated, declined to interpose by arms in the conflict of the barbarians, and simply promised Vannius a safe refuge in the event of his expulsion. He wrote instructions to Publius Atellius Hister, governor of Pannonia, that he was to have his legions, with some picked auxiliaries from the province itself, encamped on the river-bank, as a support to the conquered and a terror to the conqueror, who might otherwise, in the elation of success, disturb also the peace of our empire. For an immense host of Lugii, with other tribes, was advancing, attracted by the fame of the opulent realm which Vannius had enriched during thirty years of plunder and of tribute. Vannius's own native force was infantry, and his cavalry was from the Iazyges of Sarmatia, an army which was no match for his numerous enemy. Consequently, he determined to maintain himself in fortified positions, and protract the war.

30 But the Iazyges, who could not endure a siege, dispersed themselves throughout the surrounding country and rendered an engagement inevitable, as the Lugii and Hermunduri had there rushed to the attack. So Vannius came down out of his fortresses, and though he was defeated in battle, notwithstanding his reverse, he won some credit by having fought with his own hand, and received wounds on his breast. He then fled to the fleet which was awaiting him on the Danube, and was soon followed by his adherents, who received grants of land and were settled in Pannonia. Vangio and Sido divided his kingdom between them; they were admirably loyal to us, and among their subjects, whether the cause was in themselves or in the nature of despotism, much loved, while seeking to acquire power, and yet more hated when they had acquired it.

31 Meanwhile, in Britain, Publius Ostorius, the propraetor, found himself confronted by disturbance. The enemy had burst into the territories of our allies with all the more fury, as they imagined that a new general would not march against them with winter beginning and with an army of which he knew nothing. Ostorius, well aware that first events are those which produce alarm or confidence, by a rapid movement of his light cohorts, cut down all who opposed him, pursued those who fled, and lest they should rally, and so an unquiet and treacherous peace might allow no rest to the general and his troops, he prepared to disarm all whom he suspected, and to occupy with encampments the whole country to the Avon and Severn. The Iceni, a powerful tribe, which war had not weakened, as they had voluntarily joined our alliance, were the first to resist. At their instigation the surrounding nations chose as a battlefield a spot walled in by a rude barrier, with a narrow approach, impenetrable to cavalry. Through these defences the Roman general, though he had with him only the allied troops, without the strength of the legions, attempted to break, and having assigned their positions to his cohorts, he equipped even his cavalry for the work of infantry. Then at a given signal they forced the barrier, routing the enemy who were entangled in their own defences. The rebels, conscious of their guilt, and finding escape barred, performed many noble feats. In this battle, Marius Ostorius, the general's son, won the reward for saving a citizen's life.

32 The defeat of the Iceni quieted those who were hesitating between war and peace. Then the army was marched against the Cangi, their territory was ravaged, spoil taken everywhere without the enemy venturing on an engagement, or if they attempted to harass our march by stealthy attacks, their cunning was always punished. And now Ostorius had advanced within a little distance of the sea, facing the island Hibernia, when feuds broke out among the Brigantes and compelled the general's return, for it was his fixed purpose not to undertake any fresh enterprise till he had consolidated his previous successes. The Brigantes indeed, when a few who were beginning hostilities had been slain and the rest pardoned, settled down quietly, but on the Silures neither terror nor mercy had the least effect; they persisted in war and could be quelled only by legions encamped in their country. That this might be the more promptly effected, a colony of a strong body of veterans was established at Camulodunum on the conquered lands, as a defence against the rebels, and as a means of imbuing the allies with respect for our laws.

33 The army then marched against the Silures, a naturally fierce people and now full of confidence in the might of Caractacus, who by many an indecisive an[illegible] tle h[illegible] era[illegible] but [illegible] from the deceptive nes[illegible] country, he at once shifted the war by a stratagem into the territory of the Ordovices, where, joined by all who dreaded peace with us, he resolved on a final struggle. He selected a position for the engagement in which advance and retreat alike would be difficult for our men and comparatively easy for his own, and

then on some lofty hills, wherever their sides could be approached by a gentle slope, he piled up stones to serve as a rampart A river too of varying depth was in his front, and his armed bands were drawn up before his defences

34. Then too the chieftains of the several tribes

he flew hither and thither, protesting that that day and that battle would be the beginning of the recovery of their freedom, or of everlasting bondage He appealed, by name, to their fore fathers who had driven back the dictator Cæsar, by whose valour they were free from the Roman axe and tribute, and still preserved inviolate the persons of their wives and of their children. While he was thus speaking, the host shouted applause, every warrior bound himself by his national oath not to shrink from weapons or wounds

35 Such enthusiasm confounded the Roman general The river too in his face, the rampart

diers insisted on battle, exclaiming that valour could overcome all things, and the prefects and tribunes, with similar language, stimulated the ardour of the troops Ostorius having ascertained by a survey the inaccessible and the assailable points of the position, led on his furious

compacted fence of stones was torn down, and

opposing ranks of the Britons were broken, destitute as they were of the defence of breast plates or helmets When they faced the auxiliaries, they were felled by the swords and javelins of our legionaries; if they wheeled round, they

36 There is seldom safety for the unfortunate, and Caractacus, seeking the protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was put in chains and delivered up to the conquerors, nine years after the beginning of the war in Britain His fame had spread thence, and travelled to the neighbouring islands and provinces, and was actually celebrated in Italy All were eager to see the great man, who for so many years had defied our power Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was no obscure one, and the emperor, while he exalted his own glory, enhanced the renown of the vanquished The people were summoned as to a grand spectacle, the prætorian cohorts were drawn up under arms in the plain in front of their camp, then came a procession of the royal vassals, and the orna

your friend rather than as your captive, and you would not have disdained to receive, under a

other throne, in the same language of praise and gratitude It was indeed a novelty, quite alien

which her ancestors had won

38 The Senate was then assembled, and speeches were delivered full of pompous eulogy

captive prince by any of

ple of Rome Triumphal distinctions were voted to Ostorius, who thus far had been successful, but soon afterwards met with reverses, either because, when Caractacus was out of the way, our discipline was relaxed under an impression that the war was ended, or because the enemy, out of compassion for so great a king was more ardent in his thirst for vengeance Instantly they rushed from all parts on the camp prefect, and legionary cohorts left to establish fortified positions among the Silures, and had not speedy succour arrived from towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood, our forces would then have been totally destroyed Even as it was, the camp-prefect, with eight centurions, and the bravest of the soldiers were slain, and shortly afterwards, a foraging party of our men, with some cavalry squadrons sent to their support, was utterly routed

trifling loss, as the day was on the decline Now began a series of skirmishes, for the most part like raids, in woods and morasses, with encounters due to chance or to courage, to mere heedlessness or to calculation, to fury or to lust of plunder, under directions from the officers, or sometimes even without their knowledge Conspicuous above all in stubborn resistance were the Silures, whose rage was fired by words rumoured to have been spoken by the Roman general, to the effect, that as the Sugambri had been formerly destroyed or transplanted into Gaul, so the name of the Silures ought to be blotted out Accordingly they cut off two of our auxiliary cohorts, the rapacity of whose officers let them make incautious forays, and by liberal gifts of spoil and prisoners to the other tribes, they were luring them too into revolt, when Ostorius, worn out by the burden of his anxieties, died, to the joy of the enemy, who thought that a campaign at least, though not a single battle, had proved fatal to a general whom none could despise

aster had been exaggerated by the enemy to alarm the new general, while he again magnified it, that he might win the more glory by quelling the movement or have a fairer excuse if it lasted This loss too had been inflicted on us by the Silures, and they were scouring the country far and wide, till Didius hurried up and dispersed them After the capture of Caractacus Venutius of the Brigantes, as I have already mentioned, was pre-eminent in military skill, he had long been loyal to Rome and had been defended by our arms while he was united in marriage to the queen Cartismandua Subsequently a quarrel broke out between them, followed instantly by war, and he then assumed a hostile attitude also towards us At first, however, they simply fought against each other, and Cartismandua by cunning stratagems captured the brothers and kinsfolk of Venutius This enrag

foreseen, some cohorts were sent to her aid and a sharp contest followed, which was at first doubtful but had a satisfactory termination

The legion under the command of Cæsius Nasica fought with a similar result For Didius, burdened with years and covered with honours was content with acting through his officers and merely holding back the enemy These transactions, though occurring under two proprætors, and occupying several years, I have closely connected, lest, if related separately, they might be less easily remembered I now return to the chronological order

dress of manhood, that he might be thought

his twentieth year and meanwhile, as consul elect to have pro-consular authority beyond the limits of the capital with the title of "prince of the youth of Rome" A donative was also given to the soldiery in Nero's name, and presents to the city populace At the games too of the circus which were then being celebrated to win for him popular favour, Britannicus wore the dress of boyhood, Nero the triumphal robe, as they rode in the procession The people would thus behold the one with the decorations of a general, the other in a boy's habit, and would accordingly anticipate their respective destinies At the same time those of the centurions and tribunes who pitied the lot of Britannicus were

removed, some on false pretexts, others by way of a seeming compliment Even of the freed men all who were of incorruptible fidelity were

with bitter complaint, as the beginning of a quarrel, as implying, in fact contempt of Nero's adoption and a cancelling at home of the Senate's decree and the people's vote She said too, that, if the perversity of such malignant suggestions were not checked, it would issue in the ruin of the State Claudius, enraged by what he took as a grave charge punished with banishment or death all his son's best instructors and set persons appointed by his stepmother to have the care of him

42 Still Agrippina did not yet dare to attempt her greatest scheme, unless Lusius Geta and Rufius Crispinus were removed from the command of the prætorian cohorts, for she thought that they cherished Messalina's memory and were devoted to her children Accordingly, as the emperor s wife persistently affirmed that faction was rife among these cohorts through the rivalry of the two officers and that there would be stricter discipline under one commander, the appointment was transferred to Burrus Afranius, who had a brilliant reputation as a soldier but knew well to whose wish he owed his promotion Ag

in extreme age (so uncertain are the fortunes of the great) was attacked by an accusation of

ear had not Agrippina, by threats rather than ... to sentence the accuser

houses were thrown down by frequent shocks ... spread all the

lamity Nor were there merely whispered complaints, while Claudius was administering justice, the populace crowded round him with a boisterous clamour and drove him to a corner of the forum, where they violently pressed on him till he broke through the furious mob with a body of soldiers It was ascertained that Rome had provisions for no more than fifteen days, and it was through the signal bounty of heaven and the mildness of the winter that its desperate plight was relieved And yet in past days Italy used to send supplies for the legions into distant provinces, and even now it is not a barren soil which causes distress But we prefer to cultivate Africa and Egypt, and trust the life of the Roman people to ships and all their risks

44 In the same year war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians, and was the cause

so arrogantly and persistently that his father s prolonged old age kept back from him the little

awares, were better So Rhadamistus pretended

was now ready and that he must complete the affair by the sword Meanwhile Pharasmanes invented pretexts for war, when he was fighting with the king of the Alb

[illegible] he said, [illegible] venge [illegible] etime he gave a large army to his son, who by a sudden invasion drove Mithridates in terror from the open country and forced him into the for [illegible] ated [illegible]

perius, a centurion [illegible] nothing of which barbarians are so ig [illegible] having attempted [illegible] sade, [illegible] tried to bribe the rapacity of the camp prefect Casperius protested earnestly against the overthrow of an allied king and of Armenia, the gift of the [illegible] and of [illegible]

46 By the centurion s departure the ca p prefect was released, so to say, from surveillance, and he now urged Mithridates to conclude a treaty He reminded him of the tie of brotherhood, of the seniority in age of Pharasmanes, and of their other bonds of kindred, how he was united by marriage to his brother s daughter, and was himself the father in law of Rhadamistus 'The Iberians,' he said, were not against peace, though for the moment they were the stronger, the perfidy of the Armenians was [illegible] nothing to fall back on [illegible]

edness, Casperius meantime went to [illegible] manes and required of him that the Iberians [illegible]

ed, and Pollio by secret [illegible] soldiers to demand peace and to threaten that they would abandon the garrison Under this compulsion, Mithridates agreed to a day and a place for negotiation and quitted the fortress [illegible] at first threw himself into [illegible] lling him [illegible] oath too [illegible] ner by the [illegible] At the same time he drew [illegible] e as- [illegible] pre [illegible] pres- [illegible] nces, whenever they join alliance, to unite [illegible] right hands and bind together the thumbs in a tight knot, then, when the blood has flowed into the extremities, they let it escape by a slight puncture and suck it in turn Such a treaty is thought to have a mysterious sanctity, as being sealed with the blood of both parties On this occasion he who was applying the knot pretended that it had fallen off, and suddenly seizing the knees of Mithridates flung him to the ground At the same moment a rush was made by a number of persons and chains were thrown round him Then he was dragged along by a fetter, an extreme degradation to a barbarian, and soon the common people, whom he had held under a harsh sway, heaped insults on him with menac [illegible] some, on the contrary, pit [illegible]

in different covered carriages till the [illegible] of Pharasmanes were distinctly ascertained The lust of rule was more to him than his brother [illegible] was steeled to [illegible]

seemingly mindful of his oath, he [illegible] ed the sword nor used poison against his sister and uncle, but had them thrown on the ground and then smothered them under a mass of heavy clothes Even the sons of Mithridates were butchered for having shed tears over the [illegible] murder [illegible]

red, consulted them whether he [illegible] vengeance Few cared for the honour of the State, most argued in favour of a safe course, saying "that any crime in a foreign country was to be welcomed with joy, and that the seeds of strife ought to be actually sown, on the very principle on which Roman emperors had often under a show of generosity given away this same

kingdom of Armenia to excite the minds of the barbarians Rhadamistus might retain his ill gotten gains, as long as he was hated and infamous for this was more to Rome s interest than for him to have succeeded with glory ' To this view they assented, but that they might not be thought to have approved the crime and receive contrary orders from the emperor, envoys were sent to Pharasmanes, requiring him to withdraw from Armenian territory and remove his son

49 Julius Pelignus was then procurator of

damistus, whose gifts so completely overcame him that he positively encouraged him to assume the ensigns of royalty, and himself assist

stored order to a great extent more by moderation than by force, when he was ordered to return to Syria, that nothing might arise to pro-

iberians dispersed withou

and gathered round the palace in arms

51 Rhadamistus had no means of escape but in the swiftness of the horses which bore him and his wife away Pregnant as she was she endured somehow or other, out of fear of the enemy and love of her husband the first part of the flight, but after a while, when she felt herself shaken by its continuous speed, she implored to be rescued by an honourable death from the shame of captivity He at first embraced,

pearance that she was no base born woman, bound up her wound and applied to it their rustic remedies As soon as they knew her name and her adventure, they conveyed her to the city

mania, and the emperor in again sparing a hostile family sought the credit of clemency But the exile did not live long after this whether he was cut off by a natural death, or by poison, was matter of conflicting rumours, according to people s belief

A decree of the Senate was then passed for the expulsion of the astrologers from Italy, stringent but ineffectual Next the emperor, in a speech, commended all who, from their limited means, voluntarily retired from the Senatorian order, while those were degraded from it who, by retaining their seats, added effrontery to poverty

53 During these proceedings he proposed to the Senate a penalty on women who unit themselves in marriage t

cided that those who had thus demeaned them selves, without the knowledge of the slave's master, should be reduced to slavery, if with his consent, should be ranked as freedwomen To Pallas, who, as the emperor declared, was the author of this proposal, were offered on the motion of Barea Soranus consul elect, the decora tions of the prætorship and fifteen million ses terces Cornelius Scipio added that he deserved public thanks for thinking less of his ancient nobility as a descendant from the kings of Ar cadia, than of the welfare of the State, and al lowing himself to be numbered among the em peror's ministers Claudius assured them that Pallas was content with the honour, and that he limited himself to his former poverty A de cree of the Senate was publicly inscribed on a bronze tablet, heaping the praises of primitive frugality on a freedman, the possessor of three hundred million sesterces

by such power It is true that the Jews had shown symptoms of commotion in a seditious outbreak, and when they had heard of the assassination of Caius, there was no hearty submission, as a fear still lingered that any of the emperors might impose the same orders Felix meanwhile, by ill timed remedies stimulated disloyal acts, while he had, as a rival in the worst wickedness, Ventidius Cumanus, who held a part of the prov ince, which was so divided that Galilea was governed by Cumanus, Samaria by Felix The two peoples had long been at feud, and now less than ever restrained their enmity, from con tempt of their rulers And accordingly they plun

but, as the mischief grew, they interposed with an armed force, which was cut to pieces The

there was little hesitation about their being capi tally punished Some delay indeed was occasion ed by Cumanus and Felix, for Claudius on hear ing the causes of the rebellion had given author ity for deciding also the case of these procura tors Quadratus however, exhibited Felix as one of the judges admitting him to the bench with the view of cowing the ardour of the prosecu-tors And so Cumanus was condemned for the crimes which the two had committed, and tran quillity was restored to the province

55 Not long afterwards some tribes of the wild population of Cilicia, known as the Clitæ, which had often been in commotion, establish ed a camp, under a leader Troxobor, on their rocky mountains, whence rushing down on the coast, and on the towns, they dared to do violence to the farmers and townsfolk, frequently even to the merchants and shipowners They besieged the city Anemurium, and routed some troopers sent from Syria to its rescue under the command of Curtius Severus, for the rough

coast, having broken the unity of the barbarian forces, by cajolery of the people and treachery to their leader, slew Troxobor and a few chiefs, and pacified the rest by gentle measures

56 About the same time, the mountain be tween Lake Fucinus and the river Liris was bor ed through, and that this grand work might be

of oars, and nineteen thousand men, he lined the circumference of the lake with rafts that there might be no means of escape at various points, but he still left full space for the strength of the crews, the skill of the pilots, the impact of the vessels, and the usual operations of a sea fight On the raft stood companies of the præ torian cohorts and cavalry, with a breastwork in front of them, from which catapults and ba listas might be worked The rest of the lake was occupied by marines on decked vessels An im mense multitude from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome itself, eager to see the sight or to show respect to the emperor, crowded the banks, the hills and mountain tops, which thus resembled a theatre The emperor, with Agrip-

men, though it was between condemned criminals After much bloodshed they were released from the necessity of mutual slaughter

57 When the sight was over, the outlet of the water was opened The careless execution of the work was apparent, the tunnel not hav ing been bored down so low as the bottom, or

middle of the lake Consequently after an interval the excavations were deepened, and to attract a crowd once more, a show of gladiators was exhibited, with floating pontoons for an infantry engagement A banquet too was prepared close to the outflow of the lake, and it was the means of greatly alarming the whole company, for the water, in the violence of its outburst, swept away the adjoining parts, shook the more remote, and spread terror with the tremendous

inveighed against the domineering temper of her sex, and her extravagant ambition

58 In the consulship of Didius Junius and Quintus Haterius, Nero, now sixteen years of age, married Octavia, the emperor's daughter. Anxious to distinguish himself by noble pursuits, and the reputation of an orator, he advocated the cause of the people of Ilium, and having eloquently recounted how Rome was the offspring of Troy, and Æneas the founder of the Julian line, with other old traditions akin to

ties The Rhodians also had their freedom restored to them, which had often been taken away, or confirmed, according to their services to us in our foreign wars, or their seditious misdeeds at home Apamea, too, which had been shaken by an earthquake, had its tribute remitted for five years.

59 Claudius, on the other hand, was being

us

Taurus, who was famous for his wealth, and at whose gardens she cast a greedy eye Priscus had served under Taurus in his proconsular govern-

pronounced Tarquitius was however expelled from the Senate, a point which the senators carried, out of hatred for the accuser, notwithstanding the intrigues of Agrippina

60 That same year the emperor was often heard to say that the legal decisions of the commissioners of the imperial treasury ought to have the same force as if pronounced by himself Lest it might be supposed that he had stumbled inadvertently into this opinion, its principle was also secured by a decree of the Senate on a more complete and ample scale than before It had indeed already been arranged by the Di

Roman magistrates, and after a time most of the cases formerly tried by the prætors were submitted to the knights Claudius handed over to them the whole administration of justice for which there had been by sedition or war so many struggles, the Sempronian laws vesting judicial power in the equestrian order, and those of Ser-

them the Matii, Vedii, and other too influential names of Roman knights would be superflu-

and was practised with

that Xenophon, of whose medical skill he availed himself, was one of the same family, and that they ought to grant his request and let the people of Cos dwell free from all tribute in their sacred island, as a place devoted to the sole service of their god It was also certain that many

individual

62 Envoys from Byzantium having received

of Macedonia whose supposed spurious birth acquired for him the name of the Pseudo Philip, they reminded us of the forces which they had afterwards sent against Antiochus, Perses and Aristonicus, of the aid they had given Antonius in the pirate war, of their offers to Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius, and then of their late services to the Cæsars, when they were in occupation of a district peculiarly convenient for the land or sea passage of generals and armies, as well as for the conveyance of supplies

63 It was indeed on that very narrow strait which parts Europe from Asia, at Europe's furthest extremity that the Greeks built Byzantium When they consulted the Pythian Apollo as to where they should found a city, the oracle replied that they were to seek a home opposite to the blind men's country This obscure hint pointed to the people of Chalcedon, who, though they arrived there first and saw before others the advantageous position, chose the worse For Byzantium has a fruitful soil and productive seas, as immense shoals of fish pour out of the Pontus and are driven by the sloping surface of the rocks under water to quit the windings of the Asiatic shore and take refuge in these harbours Consequently the inhabitants were at first money making and wealthy traders, but afterwards, under the pressure of excessive burdens, they petitioned for immunity or at least relief, and were supported by the emperor, who argued to the Senate that, exhausted as they were by the late wars in Thrace and Bosporus, they deserved help So their tribute was remitted for five years

64 In the year of the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius it was seen to be portended by a succession of prodigies that there were to be political changes for the worse The soldiers' standards and tents were set in a blaze by lightning A swarm of bees settled on the summit of the Capitol, births of monsters, half man, half beast, and of a pig with a hawk's talons, were reported It was accounted a portent that every order of magistrates had had its number reduced, a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor and consul having died within a few months But Agrippina's terror was the most conspicuous Alarmed by some words dropped by Claudius when half intoxicated, that it was his destiny to have to endure his wives' infamy and at last punish it, she determined to act without a moment's delay First she destroyed Lepida from motives of feminine jealousy Lepida indeed as the daughter of the younger Antonia, as the grandniece of Augustus, the cousin of Agrippina, and sister of her husband Cneius, thought herself of equally high rank In beauty, youth, and wealth they differed but slightly Both were shameless, infamous, and intractable, and were rivals in vice as much as in the advantages they had derived from fortune It was indeed a desperate contest whether the aunt or the mother should have most power over Nero Lepida tried to win the young prince's heart by flattery and lavish liberality, while Agrippina on the other hand, who could give her son empire but could not endure that he should be emperor, was fierce and full of menace

65 It was charged on Lepida that she had made attempts on the emperor's consort by magical incantations, and was disturbing the peace of Italy by an imperfect control of her troops of slaves in Calabria She was for this sentenced to death, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Narcissus, who, as he more and more suspected Agrippina, was said to have plainly told his intimate friends that "his destruction was certain, whether Britannicus or Nero were to be emperor, but that he was under such obligations to Claudius that he would sacrifice life to his welfare Messalina and Silius had been convicted, and now again there were similar grounds for accusation If Nero were to rule, or Britannicus succeed to the throne, he would himself have no claim on the then reigning sovereign Meanwhile, a stepmother's treacherous schemes were convulsing the whole imperial house with far greater disgrace than would have resulted from his concealment of the profligacy of the emperor's former wife Even as it was, there was shamelessness enough, seeing that Pallas was her paramour, so that no one could doubt that she held honour, modesty and her very person, everything, in short, cheaper than sovereignty"

This, and the like, he was always saying, and he would embrace Britannicus, expressing earnest wishes for his speedy arrival at a mature age, and would raise his hand, now to heaven, now to the young prince, with entreaty that as he grew up, he would drive out his father's enemies and also take vengeance on the murderers of his mother

66 Under this great burden of anxiety, he had an attack of illness and went to Sinuessa to recruit his strength with its balmy climate and salubrious waters Thereupon, Agrippina, who had long decided on the crime and [illegible] ed at the oppor[illegible]

la[illegible]

th[illegible]

trayed by one that was sudden and instantaneous, while if she chose a slow and lingering poison, there was a fear that Claudius, when

pared and it was to be administered by an eunuch, Halotus, who was accustomed to bring in and taste the dishes

67 All the circumstances were subsequently so well known, that writers of the time have declared that the poison was infused into some mushrooms, a favourite delicacy, and its effect not at the instant perceived, from the emperor's lethargic, or intoxicated condition His bowels too were relieved and this seemed to have saved him Agrippina was thoroughly dismayed Fearing the worst, and defying the immediate obloquy of the deed, she availed herself of the complicity of Xenophon the physician, which she had already secured Under pretence of helping the emperor s efforts to vomit, this man, it is supposed, introduced into his throat a feather smeared with some rapid poison for he knew that the greatest crimes are perilous in their inception, but well rewarded after their consummation

68 Meanwhile the Senate was summoned,

Antonia and Octavia, closed every approach to the palace with a military guard, and repeatedly gave out that the emperor s *health was better*, so that the soldiers might be encouraged to hope, and that the fortunate moment foretold by the astrologers might arrive

69 At last, at noon on the 13th of October, the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown

tated and looked round and asked where Britannicus was, then, when there was no one to lead a resistance, they yielded to what was offered them Nero was conveyed into the camp, and having first spoken suitably to the occasion

hesitation in the provinces Divine honours were decreed to Claudius, and his funeral rites were solemnized on the same scale as those of Augustus, for Agrippina strove to emulate the magnificence of her great grandmother, Livia But his will was not publicly read, as the preference of the stepson to the son might provoke a sense of wrong and angry feeling in the popular mind

## BOOK XIII, A D 54–58

1 THE FIRST death under the new emperor, that of Junius Silanus proconsul of Asia, was, without Nero s knowledge, planned by the treachery of Agrippina Not that Silanus had provoked destruction by any violence of temper, apathetic as he was and so utterly despised under former despotisms, that Caius Cæsar used to call him the golden sheep The truth

freedman, men who had the charge of the emperor s domains in Asia They gave the proconsul poison at a banquet, too openly to escape discovery

With no less precipitation, Narcissus, Claudius s freedman, whose quarrels with Agrip-

2 And now they had proceeded to further murders but for the opposition of Afranius Burrus and Annæus Seneca These two men guided the emperor s youth with an un

purpose seldom found where authority is shared, and though their accomplishments were wholly different, they had equal influence Burrus, with his soldier's discipline and severe manners, Seneca, with lessons of eloquence and a dignified courtesy, strove alike to confine the frailty of the prince's youth, should he loathe [illegible]

her side, at whose suggestion Claudius had ruined himself by an incestuous marriage and a fatal adoption of a son Nero s temper however was not one to submit to slaves, and Pallas, by a surly arrogance quite beyond a freedman, had [illegible] two lictors, with the office of priestess to Claudius, and voted to the late emperor a censor's funeral, which was soon followed by deification

3 On the day of the funeral the prince pronounced Claudius's panegyric, and while he dwelt on [illegible] consuls [illegible] was ent[illegible]ence T[illegible] praise of his graceful accomplishments, and the remark that during his reign no disaster had befallen Rome from the foreigner, were heard with favour When the speaker passed on to his foresight and wisdom, no one could refrain from laughter, though the speech, which [illegible] ele[illegible] attr[illegible] of t[illegible] sure[illegible] comparing the past and the present, observed that Nero was the first emperor who needed another man's eloquence The dictator Cæsar rivalled the greatest orators, and Augustus had an easy and fluent way of speaking, such as became a sovereign T[illegible] [illegible] verses, occasionally composing verses which showed that he had the rudiments of learning

4 When he had done with his mimicries of sorrow he entered the Senate, and having first referred to the authority of the senators and the concurrence of the soldiery, he then dwelt on the counsels and examples which he had to guide him in the right administration of empire "His boyhood," he said, "had not had the taint of civil wars or domestic feuds, and he brought with him no hatreds, no sense of wrong no desire of vengeance" He then sketched the plan of his future government, carefully avoiding anything which had kindled recent odium "He would not," he said, "be judge in all cases, or, by confining the accuser and the accused within the same walls, let the power of a few favourites grow dangerously formidable In his house there should be nothing venal, nothing open to intrigue, his private establishment and the State should be kept entirely distinct The Senate should retain its ancient powers, Italy and the State provinces should plead their causes before the tribunals of the consuls, who would give them a hearing from the senators Of the armies he would himself take charge, as specially entrusted to him"

5 He was true to his word and several arrangements were made on the Senate's authority No one was to receive a fee or a present for pleading a cause, the quæstors-elect were not to be under the necessity [illegible] tor [illegible] as [illegible] it [illegible] sun[illegible] mig[illegible] stand close to a hidden door behind them, screened by a curtain which was enough to shut her out of sight, but not out of hearing When envoys from Armenia were pleading their nation's cause before Nero, she actually was on the point of mounting the emperor's tribunal and of presiding with him, but Seneca, when every one else was paralysed with alarm, motioned to the prince to go and meet his mother Thus, by an apparently dutiful act, a scandalous scene was prevented

6 With the close of the year came [illegible] talking began to ask how a prince of scarce seventeen was to encounter and avert this tremendous peril, how they could fall back on one who was ruled by a woman, or whether battles

and sieges and the other operations of war could be directed by tutors "Some, on the contrary, argued that this was better than it would have been had Claudius in his feeble and spiritless old age, when he would certainly have yielded to the bidding of slaves been summoned to the hardships of a campaign Burrus, at least, and Seneca were known to be men of very varied experience and as for the emperor himself, how far was he really short of mature age when Cneius Pompeius and Cæsar Octavianus in their eighteenth and nineteenth years respectively bore the brunt of civil wars? The highest rank chiefly worked through its prestige and its counsels more than by the sword and hand The emperor would give a plain proof whether he was advised by good or bad friends by putting aside all jealousy and selecting some eminent general rather than by promoting out of favouritism a rich man backed up by interest"

7 Amidst this and like popular talk Nero ordered the young recruits levied in the adjacent provinces to be brought up for the supply of the legions of the East and the legions themselves to take up a position on the Armenian frontier while two princes of old standing Agrippa and Antiochus, were to prepare a force for the invasion of the Parthian territories The Euphrates too was to be spanned by bridges Lesser Armenia was intrusted to Aristobulus, Sophene to Sohæmus, each with the ensigns of royalty There rose up at this crisis a rival to Vologeses in his son Vardanes and the Parthians quitted Armenia apparently intending to defer hostilities

8 All this however was described with exaggeration to the Senate in the speeches of those members who proposed a public thanksgiving and that on the days of the thanksgiving the prince should wear the triumphal robe and enter Rome in ovation lastly that he should have statues on the same scale as those of Mars the Avenger and in the same temple To their habitual flattery was added a real joy at his having appointed Domitius Corbulo to secure Armenia thus opening as it seemed a field to merit The armies of the East were so divided that half the auxiliaries and two legions were to remain in the province of Syria under its governor Quadratus Ummidius while Corbulo was to have an equal number of citizen and allied troops, together with the auxiliary infantry and cavalry which were in winter quarters in Cappadocia The confederate kings were instructed to obey orders, just as the war might require But they had a specially strong liking for Corbulo That general, with a view to the prestige which in a new enterprise is supremely powerful, speedily accomplished his march and at Ægeæ a city of Cilicia met Quadratus who had advanced to the place under an apprehension that, should Corbulo once enter Armenia to take command of the army he would draw all eyes on himself, by his noble stature his imposing eloquence and the impression he would make not only by his wisdom and experience but also by the mere display of showy attributes

9 Meantime both sent messages to king Vologeses, advising him to choose peace rather than war and to give hostages and so continue the habitual reverence of his ancestors towards the people of Rome Vologeses, wishing to prepare for war at an advantage or to rid himself of suspected rivals under the name of hostages delivered up some of the noblest of the Arsacids A centurion Insteius, sent perhaps by Ummidius on some previous occasion, received them after an interview with the king Corbulo, on knowing this ordered Arrius Varus commander of a cohort to go and take the hostages Hence arose a quarrel between the commander and the centurion and to stop such a scene before foreigners the decision of the matter was left to the hostages and to the envoys who conducted them They preferred Corbulo for his recent renown and from a liking which even enemies felt for him Then there was a feud between the two generals Ummidius complained that he was robbed of what his prudence had achieved while Corbulo on the other hand appealed to the fact that Vologeses had not brought himself to offer hostages till his own appointment to the conduct of the war turned the king's hopes into fears Nero to compose their differences directed the issue of a proclamation that for the successes of Quadratus and Corbulo the laurel was to be added to the imperial 'fasces' I have closely connected these events though they extend into another consulship

10 The emperor in the same year asked the Senate for a statue to his father Domitius, and also that the consular decorations might be conferred on Asconius Labeo, who had been his guardian Statues to himself of solid gold and silver he forbade in opposition to offers made, and although the Senate passed a vote that the year should begin with the month of December in which he was born he retained for its commencement the old sacred associations of the first of January Nor would he allow the prosecution of Carinas Celer, a senator, who

accused, or of Julius Densus, a knight, whose partiality for Britannicus was construed into a crime

11 In the year of his consulship with Lucius Antistius, when the magistrates were swearing obedience to imperial legislation he forbade his colleague to extend the oath to his own enactments, for which he was warmly praised by the senators, in the hope that his youthful spirit, elated with the glory won by trifles, would follow on to nobler aspirations Then came an act of mercy to Plautius Lateranus who had been degraded from his rank for adultery with Messalina and whom he now restored, assuring them of his clemency in a number of speeches which Seneca, to show the purity of his teaching or to display his genius published to the world by the emperor's mouth

12 Meanwhile the mother's influence was gradually weakened, as Nero fell in love with a freedwoman, Acte by name, and took into his confidence Otho and Claudius Senecio, two young men of fashion, the first of whom was descended from a family of consular rank while Senecio's father was one of the emperor's freedmen Without the mother's knowledge, then in spite of her opposition, they had crept into his favour by debaucheries and equivocal secrets, and even the prince's older friends did not thwart him, for here was a girl who without harm to any one gratified his desires, when he loathed his wife Octavia, high born as she was, and of approved virtue, either from some fatality, or because vice is overpoweringly attractive It was feared too that he might rush into outrages on noble ladies, were he debarred from this indulgence

13 Agrippina, however, raved with a woman's fury about having a freedwoman for a rival, a slave girl for a daughter in law, with like expressions Nor would she wait till her son repented or wearied of his passion The fouler her reproaches, the more powerfully did they inflame him, till completely mastered by the [illegible] desire he threw off all respect [illegible] the guid [illegible] Serenus, had [illegible] gue in its beginning by pretending to be in love with the same woman, and had lent his name as the ostensible giver of the presents secretly sent by the emperor to the girl Then Agrippina, changing her tactics, plied the lad with various blandishments, and even offered the seclusion of her chamber for the concealment of indulgences which youth and the highest rank might claim She went further, she pleaded guilty to an ill timed strictness, and handed over to him the abundance of her wealth which nearly approached the imperial treasures and from having been of late extreme in her restraint of her son became now, on the other hand, lax to excess The change did not escape Nero, his most intimate friends dreaded it, and begged him to beware of the arts of a woman, who was always daring and was now false

It happened at this time that the emperor after inspecting the apparel in which wives and mothers of the imperial house had been seen to glitter, selected a jewelled robe and sent it as a gift to his mother, with the unsparing liberality of one who was bestowing by preference on her a choice and much coveted present Agrippina, however, publicly declared that so far from her wardrobe being furnished by these gifts, she was really kept out of the remainder, and that her son was merely dividing with her what he derived wholly from herself

14 Some there were who put even a worse meaning on her words And so Nero, furious [illegible] those who abetted such arrogance in a [illegible] the charge of the [illegible] sted by [illegible] say, as the controller of the [illegible] ent that as he was departing with a great retinue of attendants, the emperor rather wittily remarked that Pallas was going to swear himself out of office Pallas had in truth stipulated that he should not be questioned for anything he had done in the past and that his accounts with the State were to be considered as balanced Thereupon, with instant fury, Agrippina rushed into frightful menaces, sparing not the prince's ears her solemn protest that Britannicus was now of full age he who was the true and worthy heir of his father's sovereignty, which a son, by mere admission and adoption, was abusing in outrages on his mother She shrank not from an utter exposure of the wickedness of that ill starred house, of her own marriage, to begin with, and of her poisoner's craft All that the gods and she herself had taken care of was that her stepson was yet alive, with him she would go to the camp, where on one side should be heard the daughter of Germanicus on the other, the crippled Burrus and the exile Seneca claiming forsooth, with disfigured hand, and a pedant's tongue, the government of the world" As she spoke, she raised her hand in menace and heaped insults on him, as she appealed to the deified Claudius, to the infernal shades of

the Silani, and to those many fruitless crimes

15 Nero was confounded at this, and as the day was near on which Britannicus would complete his fourteenth year, he reflected, now on the domineering temper of his mother, and now again on the character of the young prince,

but when he told Britannicus to step forward

his expulsion from his father's house and from

by Agrippina's menaces, having no charge against his brother and not daring openly to order his murder, he meditated a secret device and directed poison to be prepared through the agency of Julius Pollio, tribune of one of the prætorian cohorts, who had in his custody a

as not at once to prove deadly But Nero, im

to the emperor s chamber

16 It was customary for the imperial princes to sit during their meals with other nobles of the same age, in the sight of their kinsfolk, at a

contrived, that the usage might not be dropped or the crime betrayed by the death of both prince and attendant A cup as yet harmless, but extremely hot and already tasted, was hand

those whose discernment was keener, remained motionless, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who, as he still reclined in seeming unconsciousness, said that this was a common occurrence,

return As for Agrippina, her terror and confusion, though her countenance struggled to

a precedent for parricide Even Octavia, notwithstanding her youthful inexperience, had learnt to hide her grief, her affection, and indeed every emotion

17 And so after a brief pause the company

however buried in the Campus Martius amid storms so violent, that in the popular belief they portended the wrath of heaven against a crime which many were even inclined to forgive when they remembered the immemorial feuds of brothers and the impossibility of a divided throne It is related by several writers of the period that many days before the murder, Nero had offered the worst insult to the boyhood of

on too, as it was, under the eyes of an enemy, on the sole surviving offspring of the Claudii, the victim first of dishonour, then of poison

ously untimely death, and not to dwell on it with panegyrics or display For himself, he said, that as he had now lost a brother s help, his remaining hopes centred in the State, and all the more tenderness ought to be shown by the Senate and people towards a prince who was the only survivor of a family born to the highest greatness.

18 He then enriched his most powerful friends with liberal presents Some there were who reproached men of austere professions with having on such an occasion divided houses and estates among themselves, like so much spoil It was the belief of others that a pressure had been put on them by the emperor, who, conscious as he was of guilt, hoped for merciful consideration if he could secure the most important men by wholesale bribery But his mother's rage no lavish bounty could allay She would clasp Octavia to her arms, and have many a secret interview with her friends, with more than her natural rapacity, she clutched at money everywhere, seemingly for a reserve, and courteously received tribunes and centurions She honoured the names and virtues of the nobles who still were left, seeking apparently a party and a leader Of this Nero became aware, and he ordered the departure of the military guard now kept for the emperor's mother, as it had formerly been for the imperial consort, along with some German troops, added as a further honour He also gave her a separate establishment, that throngs of visitors might no longer wait on her, and removed her to what had been Antonia's house, and whenever he went there himself, he was surrounded by a crowd of centurions, and used to leave her after a hurried kiss

19 Of all things human the most precarious and transitory is a reputation for power which has no strong support of its own In a moment Agrippina's doors were deserted, there was no one to comfort or to go near her, except a few ladies, whether out of love or malice was doubtful One of these was Junia Silana, whom Messalina had driven from her husband, Caius Silius, as I have already related Conspicuous for her birth, her beauty, and her wantonness, she had long been a special favourite of Agrippina, till after a while there were secret mutual dis- [illegible]

childless and wealthy widow out of a husband's control Silana having now a prospect of vengeance, suborned as accusers two of her creatures, Iturius and Calvisius, not with the old and often repeated charges about Agrippina's mourning the death of Britannicus or publishing the wrongs of Octavia, but with a hint that it was her purpose to encourage in revolutionary designs Rubellius Plautus, who on his mother's side was as nearly connected as Nero with [illegible]

visius divulged to Atimetus, a freedman of Domitia, Nero's aunt Exulting in the opportunity, for Agrippina and Domitia were in bit- [illegible]

en the emperor's enjoyments, but who now wore a gloomy expression He went through the whole evidence in order, and so frightened his hearer as to make him resolve not only on the destruction of his mother and of Plautus, but also on the removal of Burrus from the command of the guards, as a man who had been promoted by Agrippina's interest, and was now showing his gratitude We have it on the authority of Fabius Rusticus that a note was written to Cæcina Tuscus, intrusting to him the charge of the prætorian cohorts, but that [illegible]

the commander's loyalty Fabius certainly in- [illegible]

I shall give the differences in their narratives under the writers' names Nero, in his bewilderment and impatience to destroy his mother, could not be put off till Burrus answered for her death, should she be convicted of the crime, but "any one," he said, "much more a parent, must be allowed a defence Accusers there were none forthcoming, they had before them only [illegible]

they went at daybreak to Agrippina, that she might know the charges against her, and either rebut them or suffer the penalty Burrus ful- [illegible]

offspring, knows nothing of a mother's feelings

Parents do not change their children as lightly as a shameless woman does her paramours And if Iturius and Calvisius, after having wasted their whole fortunes, are now, as their last resource, repaying an old hag for their hire by undertaking to be informers, it does not follow that I am to incur the infamy of plotting a son's [illegible]

she is, so to say, concocting a drama for the [illegible]

every other step to empire Only let the man come forward who can charge me with having tampered with the prætorian cohorts in the capital, with having sapped the loyalty of the provinces, or, in a word, with having bribed slaves and freedmen into any wickedness Could I have lived with Britannicus in the possession of power? And if Plautus or any other were to become master of the State so as to sit in judgment on me, accusers forsooth would not be forthcoming, to charge me not merely with a few incautious expressions prompted by the eagerness of affection, but with guilt from which a son alone could absolve me"

There was profound excitement among those present, and they even tried to soothe her agita[illegible] interview with her

friends

22 The superintendence of the corn supply was given to Fænius Rufus, the direction of the games which the emperor was preparing, to Arruntius Stella, and the province of Egypt to Caius Balbillus. Syria was to be assigned to Publius Anteius, but he was soon put off by various artifices and finally detained at Rome

passed over.

[illegible] were accused of

tion with Claudius, whose [illegible]

by his marriage with Antonia. The promoter of the prosecution was one Pætus, who had become notorious by frequent purchases of property confiscated to the exchequer and was now convicted clearly of imposture But the proved innocence of Pallas did not please men so much, as his arrogance offended them. When his freedmen, his alleged accomplices, were called, he replied that at home he signified his wishes only by a nod or a gesture, or, if further expla-[illegible]

ing forgotten claims of the exchequer, were burnt

24. At the end of the year the cohort usually on guard during the games was withdrawn, that there might be a greater show of freedom, that the soldiery too might be less demoralised when no longer in contact with the licence of the theatre, and that it might be proved whether the populace, in the absence of a guard, would maintain their self-control. The emperor, on the advice of the augurs, purified Rome by a lustration, as the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been struck by lightning

25 In the consulship of Quintus Volusius [illegible]

rades, who seized on goods exposed for sale and inflicted wounds on any whom they en-

night presented the scenes of a captured city

[illegible] begun on a small scale [illegible] seemed a private affair, were to let it alone, but,

if the injured persons resisted stoutly, they rushed in with their swords He also turned the licence of the games and the enthusiasm for the actors into something like a battle by the impunity he allowed and the rewards he offered, and especially by looking on himself, sometimes concealed, but often in public view, till, with the people at strife and the fear of a worse commotion, the only remedy which could be devised was the expulsion of the offending actors from Italy, and the presence once more of the soldiery in the theatre

26 During the same time there was a discussion in the Senate on the misconduct of the freedmen class, and a strong demand was made that, as a check on the undeserving patrons should have the right of revoking freedom There were several who supported this But the consuls did not venture to put the motion without the emperor's knowledge, though they recorded the Senate's general opinion, to see whether he would sanction the arrangement, considering that only a few were opposed to it, while some loudly complained that the irreverent spirit which freedom had fostered, had broken into such excess that freedmen would ask their patrons' advice as to whether they should treat them with violence, or, as legally, their equals, and would actually threaten them with blows, at the same time recommending them not to punish 'What right,' it was asked, "was conceded to an injured patron but that of temporarily banishing the freedman a hundred miles off to the shores of Campania? In every thing else, legal proceedings were equal and [illegible]

same respectful behaviour which had procured it for them But, as for notorious offenders, they deserved to be dragged back into slavery, that fear might be a restraint where kindness had had no effect"

27 It was argued in reply that though the guilt of a few ought to be the ruin of the men themselves, there should be no diminution of the rights of the entire class "For it was,' they contended, "a widely diffused body, from it, the city tribes, the various public functionaries, the establishments of the magistrates and priests were for the most part supplied, as well as the cohorts of the city guard, very many too of the knights and several of the senators derived their origin from no other source If freedmen were to be a separate class, the paucity of the freeborn [illegible]

room for retracting the boon, or for a fresh act of grace Those whom the patron had not emancipated with the freedom giving rod, were still held, as it were, by the bonds of slavery Every master should carefully consider the merits of each case, and be slow to grant what once given could not be taken away"

This view prevailed, and the emperor replied to the Senate that, whenever freedmen were accused by their patrons, they were to investigate each case separately and not to annul any right to their common injury Soon afterwards, his aunt Domitia had her freedman Paris taken from her, avowedly by civil law, much to the emperor's disgrace, by whose direction a decision that he was freeborn was obtained

28 Still there yet remained some shadow of a free state A contest arose between Vibullius, the prætor, and Antistius, a tribune of the people, for the tribune had ordered the release of some disorderly applauders of certain actors, whom the prætor had imprisoned The Senate approved the imprisonment, and censured the presumption of Antistius Tribunes were also forbidden to usurp the authority of prætors and consuls, or to summon from any part of Italy persons liable to legal proceedings It was further proposed by Lucius Piso, consul-elect, that tribunes were not to try any case in their own houses, that a fine imposed by them was not to be entered on the public books by the officials of the exchequer, till four months had expired, and that in the meantime appeals were to be allowed, which the consuls were to decide

Restrictions were also put on the powers of the aediles and a limit fixed to the amount of bail or penalty which curule and plebeian aediles could respectively exact On this Helvidius Priscus a tribune of the people, followed up a personal quarrel he had with Obultronius Sabinus, one of the officials of the exchequer, by insinuating that he stretched his right of confiscation with merciless rigour against the poor The emperor then transferred the charge of the public accounts from these officers to the commissioners

29 The arrangement of this business had been variously and frequently altered Augustus allowed the Senate to appoint commissioners, then, when corrupt practices were suspected in the voting, men were chosen by *lot for the office*

out of the whole number of prætors This did not last long, as the lot strayed away to unfit persons Claudius then again appointed quæstors, and that they might not be too lax in their duties from fear of offending, he promised them promotion out of the usual course. But what

proved competency

30 During the same consulship, Vipsanius Lænas was condemned for rapacity in his administration of the province of Sardinia Cestius Proculus was acquitted of extortion, his accusers dropping the charge Clodius Quirinalis, hav

by poison Caninius Rebilus, one of the first men in legal knowledge and vastness of wealth, escaped the miseries of an old age of broken health by letting the blood trickle from his veins, though men did not credit him with sufficient resolution for a self inflicted death, because of his infamous effeminacy Lucius Volusius on the other hand died with a glorious name There was his long life of ninety three years, his conspicuous wealth, honourably acquired, and his wise avoidance of the malignity of so many emperors

31 During Nero's second consulship with Lucius Piso for his colleague, little occurred deserving mention, unless one were to take pleasure in filling volumes with the praise of the foundations and timber work on which the emperor piled the immense amphitheatre in the Field of Mars But we have learnt that it suits the dignity of the Roman people to reserve history for great achievements, and to leave such details to the city's daily register I may mention that the colonies of Nuceria and Capua were strengthened by an addition of veterans; to every member of the city populace four hundred sesterces were given, and forty million paid into the exchequer to maintain the credit of the citizens

*A tax also of four per cent* on the sale of slaves was remitted, an apparent more than a real boon, for as the seller was ordered to pay

of wild beasts, or indeed any other public entertainment, for hitherto our subjects had been as much oppressed by such bribery as by actual extortion, while governors sought to screen by corruption the guilty deeds of arbitrary caprice

32 *The Senate next passed a decree, providing* alike for punishment and safety. If a master were murdered by his slaves, all those who were enfranchised by his will and lived under the same roof, were to suffer the capital punishment with his other slaves Lucius Varius, an ex-consul, who had been crushed in the past under charges of extortion, was restored to his rank as a senator Pomponia Græcina, a distinguished lady, wife of the Plautius who returned from Britain with an ovation, was accused of some foreign superstition and handed over to her husband's judicial decision Follow-

long life of unbroken melancholy After the murder of Julia, Drusus's daughter, by Messalina's treachery, for forty years she wore only the attire of a mourner, with a heart ever sorrowful For this, during Claudius's reign, she escaped unpunished, and it was afterwards counted a glory to her

edness had the same rights in a province as he had claimed for it at Rome But he had to confront a determined prosecution, and at last abandoned his defence Eprius Marcellus, from

with Valerius Messala, whose great grandfa-

annual grant of five hundred thousand sesterces on which Messala might support virtuous poverty Aurelius Cotta, too, and Haterius Antonius had yearly stipends assigned them by the emperor, though they had squan-

dered their ancestral wealth in profligacy.

Early in this year a war between Parthia and Rome about the possession of Armenia, which, feebly begun, had hitherto dragged on, was vigorously resumed For Vologeses would not allow his brother Tiridates to be deprived of a kingdom which he had himself given him, or to hold it as a gift from a foreign power, and Corbulo too thought it due to the grandeur of Rome that he should recover what Lucullus and Pompeius had formerly won Besides, the Armenians in the fluctuations of their allegiance sought the armed protection of both empires, though by their country's position, by resemblance of manners, and by the ties of intermarriage, they were more connected with the Parthians, to whose subjection, in their ignorance of freedom, they rather inclined

35. Corbulo however had more to struggle against in the supineness of his soldiers than in the treachery of the enemy His legions indeed, transferred as they had been from Syria and demoralised by a long peace, endured most impatiently the duties of a Roman camp It was well known that that army contained veterans who had never been on piquet duty or on night guard, to whom the rampart and the fosse were new and strange sights, men without helmets or breastplates, sleek money making traders, [illegible]

[illegible] tire army was kept under canvas, though the winter was so severe that the ground, covered as it was with ice, did not yield a place for the [illegible]

[illegible] clad, with head uncovered, was continually with his men on the march, amid their labours; he had praise for the brave, comfort for the feeble, and was a good example to all And then as many shrank from the rigour of the climate and of the service, and deserted, he sought a remedy in strictness of discipline Not, as in [illegible]

This was shown by experience to be a wholesome measure, better than mercy; for there were fewer desertions in that camp than in those in which leniency was habitual.

[illegible] to begin an engagement The charge of these defensive positions he entrusted to Paccius Orfitus, who had held the post of a first rank centurion Though this officer had reported that the barbarians were heedless, and that an opportunity for success presented itself, he was instructed to keep within his entrenchments and to wait for a stronger force But he broke the order, and on the arrival of a few cavalry squadrons from the nearest forts, who in their inexperience insisted on fighting, he engaged the enemy and was routed Panic stricken by his disaster, those who ought to have given him support returned in precipitate flight to their respective encampments Corbulo heard of this with displeasure, he sharply censured Paccius, the officers and soldiers, and ordered them to have their quarters outside the lines There they were kept in disgrace, and were released only on the intercession of the whole army.

[illegible] he spread panic more widely by rumour than by arms So Corbulo, frustrated in his prolonged [illegible]

and officers might attack several points simul- [illegible]

us, was following up more keenly than ever his old feud with the Armenians Then, for the first time, we won the friendship of the Moschi, a nation which became pre-eminently attached to Rome, and they overran the wilds of Armenia. Thus the intended plans of Tiridates were wholly reversed, and he sent envoys to ask on behalf of himself and of the Parthians, why, when hostages had lately been given and a friendship renewed which might open up a way to further acts of good will, he was thus driven from Armenia, his ancient possession.

"As yet," he said, "Vologeses had not bestirred himself, simply because they preferred negotiation to violence Should however war be persisted in, the Arsacids would not want the courage and good fortune which had already been proved more than once by disaster to Rome" Corbulo in reply, when he was certain that Vologeses was detained by the revolt of Hyrcania, advised Tiridates to address a petition to the emperor, assuring him that he might reign securely and without bloodshed by relinquishing a prospect in the remote future for the sake of one more solid within his reach

38 As no progress was made towards a final settlement of peace by the interchange of messages, it was at last decided to fix a time and a place for an interview between the leaders "A thousand troopers," Tiridates said, 'would be his escort, what force of every kind was to be with Corbulo, he did not prescribe, provided they came in peaceful fashion, without breastplates and helmets ' Any human being, to say nothing of an old and wary general, would have seen through the barbarian s cunning, which assigned a limited number on one side and offered a larger on the other, expressly with a treacherous intent, for, were they to be exposed to a cavalry trained in the use of arrows, with the person undefended, numbers would be unavailing Corbulo however, pretending not to understand this, replied that they would do better to discuss matters requiring consideration for their common good in the presence of the entire armies, and he selected a place partly consisting of gently sloping hills, suited for ranks of infantry, partly, of a spreading plain where troops of cavalry could manœuvre On the appointed day, arriving first he posted his allied infantry with the king's auxiliaries on the wings, the sixth legion in the centre, with which he had united three thousand men of the third,

tire to their respective camps

39 The king either suspecting a stratagem from these simultaneous movements in different directions or intending to cut off our supplies as they were coming up from the sea of Pontus and the town of Trapezus, hastily withdrew He could not however make any attack on the supplies, as they were brought over mountains in the occupation of our forces Corbulo, that war might not be uselessly protracted, and also to compel the Armenians to defend their possessions, prepared to destroy their fortresses, himself undertaking the assault on the strongest of all in that province named Volandum The weaker he assigned to Cornelius Flaccus, his lieutenant, and to Insteius Capito, his camp-prefect Having then surveyed the defences and provided everything suitable for storming them, he exhorted his soldiers to strip of his home this vagabond foe who was preparing neither for peace nor for war, but who confessed his treach

of the testudo close up to the rampart to undermine it while others were ordered to apply scaling ladders to the walls, and many more were to discharge brands and javelins from engines The slingers and artillerymen had a position assigned them from which to hurl their missiles at a distance, so that with equal tumult everywhere, no support might be given from any point to such as were pressed So impetuous were the efforts of the army that within a third part of one day the walls were stripped of their defenders, the barriers of the gates overthrown the fortifications scaled and captured and all the adult inhabitants massacred, without the loss of a soldier and with but very few wounded The nonmilitary population were sold by auction, the rest of the booty fell to the conquerors

Corbulo's lieutenant and camp-prefect met with similar success, three forts were stormed by them in one day, and the remainder, some from panic, others by the consent of the occupants, capitulated This inspired them with confidence to attack the capital of the country, Artaxata The legions however were not marched by the nearest route, for should they cross the river Araxes which washes the city's walls by a bridge, they would be within missile range They passed over it at a distance, where it was broad and shallow

himself on the Roman columns, without however surprising our general, who had formed his army for fighting as well as for marching On the right and left flanks marched the

and sixth legions, with some picked men of the tenth in the centre, the baggage was secured within the lines, and the rear was guarded by a thousand cavalry, who were ordered to resist any close attack of the enemy, but not to pursue his retreat On the wings were the foot archers

trate the centre, he might be encountered both in front and flank Tiridates faced us in skirmishing order, but not within missile range,

was no breaking of our ranks from rashness, and that only one cavalry officer advanced too boldly, and that he falling pierced with arrows, confirmed the rest in obedience by the warning, he retired on the approach of darkness

41 Corbulo then encamped on the spot, and considered whether he should push on his legions without their baggage to Artaxata and blockade the city, on which, he supposed, Tiridates had fallen back When his scouts reported that the king had undertaken a long march, and that it was doubtful whether Media or Albania was its destination, he waited for daylight, and then sent on his light armed troops, which were meanwhile to hover round the walls and begin the attack from a distance The inhabitants however opened the gates of their own accord, and surrendered themselves and their property to the Romans This saved their lives, the city was fired, demolished and levelled to the ground as it could not be held without a strong garrison from the extent of the walls, and we had not sufficient force to be divided between adequately garrisoning it and carrying on the war If again the place were left untouched and unguarded, no advantage or glory would accrue from its capture Then too there was a wonderful occurrence, almost a divine interposition While the whole space outside the town, up to its buildings, was bright with sunlight, the enclosure within the walls was suddenly shrouded in a black cloud, seamed with lightning flashes and thus the city was thought to be given up to destruction, as if heaven was wroth against it

among the holy days were to be included the day on which the victory was won, that on which it was announced, and that on which the motion was brought forward Other proposals too of a like kind were carried, on a scale so extravagant, that Caius Cassius, after having assented to the rest of the honours, argued that if the gods were to be thanked for the bountiful favours of fortune, even a whole year would not suffice for thanksgivings, and therefore there ought to be a classification of sacred and business days, that so they might observe divine ordinances and yet not interfere with human affairs

42 A man who had struggled with various calamities and earned the hate of many, was

while Claudius reigned and when times were changed, he was not so much humbled as his enemies wished, and was one who would rather seem a criminal than a suppliant With the intent of crushing him, so men believed, a decree of the Senate was revived along with the penalty of the Cincian law against persons who had pleaded for hire Suilius spared not complaint or indignant remonstrance, freespoken because of his extreme age as well as from his insolent temper, he taunted Seneca with his savage enmity against the friends of Claudius, under whose reign he had endured a most righteously deserved exile "The man," he said, "familiar as he was only with profitless studies and with the ignorance of boyhood, envied those who employed a lively and genuine eloquence in the defence of their fellow-citizens *He* had been Germanicus's quæstor, while Seneca had been a paramour in his house Was it to be thought a worse offence to obtain a reward for honest service with the litigant's consent, than to pollute the chambers of the imperial ladies? By what kind of wisdom or maxims of philosophy had Seneca within four years of royal favour amassed three hundred million sesterces? At Rome the wills of the childless were, so to say, caught in his snare while Italy and the provinces were drained by a boundless usury His own money, on the other hand, had been acquired by industry and was not exces

43 Persons were not wanting to report all this to Seneca, in the exact words, or with a worse sense put on it Accusers were also found who alleged that our allies had been plundered,

when Suilius governed the province of Asia, and that there had been embezzlement of public monies Then, as an entire year had been

charged Suilius with having driven Quintus Pomponius by a relentless prosecution into the

pus, in fact, with the wholesale conviction of troops of Roman knights and with all the cruelty of Claudius His defence was that of all this he had done nothing on his own responsibility but had simply obeyed the emperor, till Nero stopped such pleadings by stating that he had ascertained from his father s notebooks that he had never compelled the prosecu

atrocious acts, when, having gained the rewards of wickedness, they impute the wickedness to others"

the crisis of his peril nor after his condemnation did he quail in spirit Rumour said that he supported that lonely exile by a life of ease and plenty When the accusers attacked his son Nerullinus on the strength of men s hatred of the father and of some charges of extortion, the emperor interposed, as if implying that venge

frenzy of Pontia, a married woman bribed her by most costly presents into an intrigue and then into abandoning her husband He had offered her marriage and had won her consent But as soon as she was free, she devised delays, pretended that her father s wishes were against it, and having secured the prospect of a richer husband, she repudiated her promises Octavius, on the other hand, now remonstrated, now threatened, his good name, he protested, was lost, his means exhausted, and as for his life, which was all that was left to him, he surrendered it to her mercy When she spurned him, he asked the solace of one night, with which to soothe his passion, that he might set bounds to it for the future A night was fixed, and Pontia intrusted the charge of her chamber to a female slave acquainted with her secret Octavius attended by one freedman entered, with a dagger concealed under his dress Then, as usual in lovers quarrels, there were chidings, entreaties, reproaches, excuses, and some period of the darkness was given up to passion, then, when seemingly about to go, and she was fearing nothing, he stabbed her with the steel, and having wounded and scared away the slave girl who was hurrying to her, rushed out of the chamber Next day the murder was notorious, and there was no question as to the murderer, for it was proved that he had passed some time with her The freedman, however, declared the deed was his that he had, in fact, avenged his patron s wrongs He had made some impression by the nobleness of his example, when the slave girl recovered and revealed the truth Octavius, when he ceased to be tribune, was prosecuted

same year proved the beginning of great evils to the State There was at Rome one Sabina Poppæa, her father was Titus Ollius, but she had assumed the name of her maternal grandfather Poppæus Sabinus a man of illustrious memory and pre-eminently distinguished by the honours of a consulship and a triumph As for Ollius, before he attained promotion the friendship of Sejanus was his ruin This Poppæa had everything but a right mind Her

practised laxity Seldom did she appear in public, and it was always with her face partly veiled, either to disappoint men's gaze or to set off her beauty Her character she never spared, making no distinction between a husband and a paramour, while she was never a slave to her own passion or to that of her lover Wherever there was a prospect of advantage, there she transferred her favours And so while she was living as the wife of Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, by whom she had a son she

was attracted by the youth and fashionable elegance of Otho, and by the fact too that he was reputed to have Nero's most ardent friendship Without any delay the intrigue was followed by marriage

46 Otho now began to praise his wife's beauty and accomplishments to the emperor, either from a lover s thoughtlessness or to inflame Nero s passion, in the hope of adding to his own influence by the further tie which would arise out of possession of the same woman Often, as he rose from the emperor's table, was he heard repeatedly to say that he was going to her, to the high birth and beauty which had fallen to his lot, to that which all men pray for, the joy of the fortunate These and like incitements allowed but of brief delay Once having gained admission, Poppæa won her way by artful blandishments, pretending that she could not resist her passion and that she was captivated by Nero s person Soon, as the emperor s love grew ardent, she would change and be supercilious and, if she were detained more than one or two nights, would say again and again that she was a married woman and could not give up her husband attached as she was to Otho by a manner of life, which no one equalled 'His ideas and his style were grand, at his house everything worthy of the highest fortune was ever before her eyes Nero, on the contrary, with his slave girl mistress, tied down by his attachment to Acte, had derived nothing from his slavish associations but what was low and degrading

Otho was now cut off from Nero's usual familiar intercourse, and then even from interviews and from the royal suite, and at last was appointed governor of the province of Lusitania, that he might not be the emperor s rival at Rome There he lived up to the time of the civil wars, not in the fashion of his disgraceful past, but uprightly and virtuously, a pleasure loving man when idle, and self restrained when in power

47 Hitherto Nero had sought a veil for his abominations and wickedness He was particularly suspicious of Cornelius Sulla, whose apathetic temper he interpreted as really the reverse, inferring that he was, in fact, an artful

that he might take his pleasures more freely outside the city So Graptus, taking advantage of an idle panic into which the royal attendants had chanced to have been thrown on their return by one of those youthful frolics which were then everywhere practised invented a story that a treacherous attack had been planned on the emperor, should he go back by the Flaminian road, and that through the favour of destiny he had escaped it, as he went home by a different way to Sallust's gardens Sulla, he said, was the author of this plot Not one, however, of Sulla's slaves or clients was recognised, and his character, despicable as it was and in

48 During the same consulship a hearing was given to two conflicting deputations from Puteoli, sent to the Senate by the town council and by the populace The first spoke bitterly of

Caius Cassius was appointed to apply some remedy As they would not endure his rigour, the charge of the affair was at his own request transferred to the brothers Scribonii, to whom was given a prætorian cohort, the terror of which, coupled with the execution of a few persons, restored peace to the townspeople

49 I should not mention a very trivial decree of the Senate which allowed the city of Syracuse to exceed the prescribed number in their gladiatorial shows, had not Pætus Thrasea

fare required freedom of speech in the Senate, *did he pursue such trifling abuses? Why should* he not speak for or against peace and war, or on the taxes and laws and other matters involving Roman interests? The senators, as often as they received the privilege of stating an opinion, were at liberty to say out what they pleased, *and to claim that it should be put to the vote.* Was it the only worthy object of reform to provide that the Syracusans should not give shows on a larger scale? Were all other matters in every department of the empire as admirable as if Thrasea and not Nero had the direction of them? But if the highest affairs were passed by

and ignored, how much more ought there to be no meddling with things wholly insignificant"

Thrasea in reply, when his friends asked an explanation, said "that it was not in ignorance of Rome's actual condition that he sought to correct such decrees, but that he was giving what was due to the honour of the senators, in making it evident that those who attended even to the merest trifles, would not disguise their responsibility for important affairs"

50 That same year, repeated demands on the part of the people, who denounced the excessive greed of the revenue collectors, made Nero doubt whether he should not order the repeal of all indirect taxes, and so confer a most splendid boon on the human race But this sudden impulse was checked by the senators, who, having first heartily praised the grandeur of his conception, pointed out "that the dissolution of the empire must ensue if the revenues which supported the State were to be diminished, for as soon as the customs were swept away, there

man people was still in its vigour, and arrangements were subsequently made to insure an exact correspondence between the amount of income and the necessary disbursements Certainly some restraint, they admitted, must be put on the cupidity of the revenue collectors, that they might not by new oppressions bring into odium what for so many years had been *endured without a complaint*"

51 Accordingly the emperor issued an edict that the regulations about every branch of the public revenue, which had hitherto been kept secret, should be published, that claims which

munities except when they traded for profit, with other very equitable arrangements, which for a short time were maintained and were subsequently disregarded However, the repeal of the two per cent and two-and a half per cent taxes remains in force, as well as that of others bearing names invented by the collectors to cover their illegal exactions In our transmarine provinces the conveyance of corn was rendered less costly, and it was decided that merchant ships should not be assessed with their owner's property, and that no tax should be paid on them

52 Two men under prosecution from Africa, in which province they had held proconsular authority, Sulpicius Camerinus and Pomponius Silvanus, were acquitted by the emperor. Camerinus had against him a few private persons who charged him with cruelty rather than with extortion Silvanus was beset by a host of accusers, who demanded time for summoning their witnesses, while the defendant insisted on

ence he had escaped

53 Up to this time everything had been quiet in Germany, from the temper of the generals, who, now that triumphal decorations had been vulgarised, hoped for greater glory by the maintenance of peace Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then in command of the army. Still, to avoid keeping the soldiers in idleness, the first completed the embankment begun sixty three years before by Drusus to confine the waters of the Rhine, while Vetus prepared to connect the Moselle and the Arar by a canal, so that troops crossing the sea and then conveyed on the Rhone and Arar might sail by this canal into the Moselle and the Rhine, and thence to the ocean Thus the difficulties of the route being removed, there would be communication for ships between the shores of the west and of the north

tachment of Gaul This result he repeatedly said would excite the fears of the emperor, an assertion by which meritorious undertakings are often hindered

Frisii moved up their youth to the forests and swamps, and their non fighting population, over the lakes, to the river bank, and established themselves in unoccupied lands, reserved for the use of our soldiers, under the leadership of Verritus and Malorix, the kings of the tribe, as far as Germans are under kings Already they had settled themselves in houses, had sown the fields, and were cultivating the soil as if it had been their ancestor

had succeeded Paulinus in the province, by threatening them with a Roman attack if they did not retire into their old country or obtain a new territory from the emperor, constrained Verritus and Malorix to become suppliants. They went to Rome, and while they waited for Nero, who was intent on other engagements, among the sights shown to the barbarians they were admitted into Pompey's theatre, where they might behold the vastness of the Roman people There at their leisure (for in the entertainment, ignorant as they were, they found no amusement) they asked questions about the crowd on the benches, about the distinctions of classes, who were the knights, where was the Senate, till they observed some persons in a foreign dress on the seats of the senators Having asked who they were, when they were told that [illegible] claimed that no men on earth surpassed the Germans in arms or in loyalty Then they went down and took their seat among the senators The spectators hailed the act goodnaturedly, as due to the impulsiveness of a primitive people and to an honourable rivalry. Nero gave both of them the Roman franchise, and ordered the Frisii to withdraw from the territory in question When they disdained obedience, some auxiliary cavalry by a sudden attack made it a necessity for them, capturing or slaughtering those who obstinately resisted

55 Of this same territory, the Ampsivarii now possessed themselves, a tribe more powerful not only from their numbers, but from having the sympathy of the neighbouring peoples, as they had been expelled by the Chauci and [illegible] calus by name, who reminded us that on the Cheruscan revolt he had been imprisoned by [illegible] flocks and herds of the Roman soldiers may some day be sent! Let them by all means keep [illegible] to the Usipii [illegible] empty soil; rather let them submerge it beneath the sea against the plunderers of the land"

56. Avitus was impressed by this language and said that people must submit to the rule of their betters; that the gods to whom they appealed, had willed that the decision as to what should be given or taken from them, was to rest with the Romans, who would allow none but themselves to be judges. This was his public answer to the Ampsivarii; to Boiocalus his reply was that in remembrance of past friendship he would cede the lands in question Boiocalus spurned the offer as the price of treason, adding, "We may lack a land to live in, we cannot lack one to die in" And so they parted with mutual exasperation The Ampsivarii now called on the Bructeri, the Tencteri, and yet more distant tribes to be their allies in war. Avitus, having written to Curtilius Mancia, commander of the Upper army, asking him to cross the Rhine and display his troops in the enemy's rear, himself led his legions into the territory of the Tencteri, and threatened them with extermination unless they dissociated themselves from the cause When upon this the Tencteri stood aloof, the Bructeri were cowed by a like terror And so, as the rest too were for averting perils which did not concern them, the Ampsivarian tribe in its isolation retreated to the Usipii and Tubantes Driven out of these countries, they sought refuge with the Chatti and then with the Cherusci, and after long wan- [illegible] fight, were apportioned as booty.

57 The same summer a great battle was fought between the Hermunduri and the Chatti, both forcibly claiming a river which produced salt in plenty, and bounded their territories. They had not only a passion for settling every question by arms, but also a deep-rooted superstition that such localities are specially near to heaven, and that mortal prayers are nowhere more attentively heard by the gods It is, they think, through the bounty of divine power, that in that river and in those forests salt is produced, not, as in other countries, by the drying up of an overflow of the sea, but by the combination of two opposite elements, fire and water, when the latter had been poured

over a burning pile of wood The war was a success for the Hermunduri, and the more disastrous to the Chatti because they had devoted,

coiled on themselves Meanwhile, a state in alliance with us, that of the Ubii suffered grievously from an unexpected calamity Fires suddenly bursting from the earth seized everywhere on country houses, crops, and villages, and were rushing on to the very walls of the newly founded colony Nor could they be extinguished by the fall of rain, or by river water, or by any other moisture, till some countrymen in despair of a remedy and in fury at the dis-

beasts, with the blows of clubs and other weapons *At last they stript off their clothes and* threw them on the fire which they were the more likely to quench, the more they had been soiled by common use

58 That same year, the fact that the tree in the Comitium, which 840 years before had sheltered the infancy of Romulus and Remus, was impaired by the decay of its boughs and by the withering of its stem, was accounted a portent, till it began to renew its life with fresh shoots

## BOOK XIV, A D 59–62

1 In the year of the consulship of Caius Vipstanus and Caius Fonteius Nero deferred no

had no hope of marriage for herself or of Octavia s divorce while Agrippina lived she would reproach the emperor with incessant vituperation and sometimes call him in jest a mere ward who was under the rule of others, and was so far from having empire that he had not even his liberty 'Why,' she asked, was her marriage put off? Was it, forsooth, her beauty and her ancestors, with their triumphal honours, that failed to please, or her being a mother, and her sincere heart? No, the fear was that as a wife at least she would divulge the wrongs of the Senate, and the wrath of the people at the

anywhere in the world, where she might hear of the insults heaped on the emperor, rather than witness them, and be also involved in his perils"

These and the like complaints, rendered impressive by tears and by the cunning of an adulteress, no one checked, as all longed to see the mother's power broken while not a person believed that the son's hatred would steel his heart to her murder

2 Cluvius relates that Agrippina in her ea

she presented herself attractively attired to her half intoxicated son and offered him her person, and that when kinsfolk observed wanton kisses and caresses, portending infamy, it was Seneca who sought a female s aid against a woman's fascinations, and hurried in Acte, the freed girl, who alarmed at her own peril and *at Nero s disgrace, told him that the incest was* notorious, as his mother boasted of it, and that the soldiers would never endure the rule of an impious sovereign Fabius Rusticus tells us that it was not Agrippina but Nero, who lusted for the crime, and that it was frustrated by the adroitness of that same freed girl Cluvius's account, however, is also that of all other authors, and popular belief inclines to it, whether it was that Agrippina really conceived such a monstrous wickedness in her heart, or perhaps be

At last con

her, merely deliberating whether it was to be accomplished by poison, or by the sword or by any other violent means Poison at first seemed best, but, were it to be administered at the imperial table, the result could not be referred to chance after the recent circumstances of the death of Britannicus Again to tamper with the servants of a woman who from her familiarity with crime, was on her guard against treachery, appeared to be extremely difficult, and then, too, she had fortified her constit

by the use of antidotes How again the dagger and its work were to be kept secret, no one could suggest, and it was feared too that whoever might be chosen to execute such a crime would spurn the order

An ingenious suggestion was offered by Anicetus, a freedman, commander of the fleet at Misenum, who had been tutor to Nero in boyhood and had a hatred of Agrippina which she reciprocated He explained that a vessel could be constructed, from which a part might by a contrivance be detached, when out at sea, so as to plunge her unawares into the water "Nothing" he said, "allowed of accidents so much as the sea, and should she be overtaken by shipwreck, who would be so unfair as to impute to crime an offence committed by the winds and waves? The emperor would add the honour of a temple and of shrines to the deceased lady, with every other display of filial affection

4 Nero liked the device, favoured as it also was by the particular time, for he was celebrating Minerva s five days' festival at Baiæ Thither he enticed his mother by repeated assurances that children ought to bear with the irritability of parents and to soothe their tempers, wishing thus to spread a rumour of reconciliation and to secure Agrippina s acceptance through the feminine credulity, which easily believes what gives joy As she approached, he went to the shore to meet her (she was coming from Antium), welcomed her with outstretched hand and embrace, and conducted her to Bauli This was the name of a country house, washed by a bay of the sea between the promontory of Misenum and the lake of Baiæ Here was a vessel distinguished from others by its equipment, seemingly meant, among other things, to do honour to his mother, for she had been accustomed to sail in a trireme, with a crew of marines And now she was invited to a banquet, that night [illegible]

and in doubt whether she was to believe it, was conveyed to Baiæ in her litter There some [illegible]

various conversation, passing from a youth s playful familiarity to an air of constraint, which seemed to indicate serious thought, and then, after protracted festivity, escorted her on her departure, clinging with kisses to her eyes and bosom, either to crown his hypocrisy or because the last sight of a mother on the even of destruction caused a lingering even in that brutal heart

[illegible]

intimate attendants, one of whom, Crepereius Gallus, stood near the helm, while Acerronia, reclining at Agrippina's feet as she reposed herself, spoke joyfully of her son's repentance and of the recovery of the mother's influence when at a given signal the ceiling of the place, which was loaded with a quantity of lead, fell in and Crepereius was crushed and intantly killed [illegible]

who were in the plot, were hindered by the unconscious majority The crew then thought it best to throw the vessel on one side and so sink it, but they could not themselves promptly unite to face the emergency, and others, by counteracting the attempt gave an opportunity of a gentler fall into the sea Acerronia, however, thoughtlessly exclaiming that she was Agrippina, and imploring help for the emperor s mother, was despatched with poles and oars, and such naval implements as chance offered Agrippina was silent and was thus the less recognized still, she received a wound in her shoulder She swam then met with some small boats which conveyed her to the Lucrine lake, and so entered her house

6 There she reflected how for this very purpose she had been invited by a lying letter and treated with conspicuous honour, how also it was near the shore, not from being driven by winds or dashed on rocks, that the vessel had in its upper part collapsed, like a mechanism anything but nautical She pondered too the death of Acerronia she looked at her own [illegible]

caped a terrible disaster, that she begged [illegible] alarmed, as he might be, by his mother s peril, to put off the duty of a visit, as for the present she needed repose Meanwhile, pretending that she felt secure, she applied remedies to her wound, and fomentations to her person She then ordered search to be made for the will of Acerronia, and her property to be sealed, in this alone throwing off disguise

7. Nero, meantime, as he waited for tidings of the consummation of the deed, received information that she had escaped with the injury of a slight wound, after having so far encountered the peril that there could be no question as to its author. Then, paralysed with terror [illegible]

hastening to the Senate and the people, to charge him with the wreck, with her wound, and with the destruction of her friends, he asked what resource he had against all this, unless something could be at once devised by Burrus and Seneca. He had instantly summoned both of them, and possibly they were already in the secret There was a long silence on their part, they feared they might remonstrate in vain, or believed the crisis to be such that Nero must [illegible]

whether the bloody deed must be required of the soldiers Burrus replied "that the prætorians were attached to the whole family of the [illegible]

empire, and that a freedman was the author of this mighty boon "Go," he said, "with all speed and take with you the men readiest to execute your orders" He himself, when he had heard of the arrival of Agrippina's messenger, Agerinus, contrived a theatrical mode of accusation, and, while the man was repeating his message, *threw down a sword at his feet*, then ordered him to be put in irons, as a detected criminal, so that he might invent a story how his mother had plotted the emperor's destruction and in the shame of discovered guilt had by her own choice sought death

8 Meantime, Agrippina's peril being universally known and taken to be an accidental occurrence, everybody, the moment he heard of it, hurried down to the beach Some climbed projecting piers, some the nearest vessels, others, as far as their stature allowed, went into the sea, some, again, stood with outstretched arms, while the whole shore rung with wailings, with prayers and cries, as different questions were asked and uncertain answers given A vast multitude streamed to the spot with torches, and as soon as all knew that she was safe, they at once prepared to wish her joy, till the sight of an armed and threatening force scared them away. Anicetus then surrounded the house with a guard, and having burst open the gates, dragged off the slaves who met him, till he came to the door of her chamber, where a few still stood, after the rest had fled in terror at the attack A small lamp was in the room, and one slave girl with Agrippina, who grew more and more anxious, as no messenger came from her son, not even Agerinus, while the appearance of the shore was changed, a solitude one moment, then sudden bustle and tokens of the worst catastrophe. As the girl rose to depart, she exclaimed, "Do you too forsake me?" and looking round saw Anicetus, who had with him the captain of the trireme, Herculeius, and Obaritus, a centurion of marines "If," said she, "you have come to see [illegible]

murder"

The assassins closed in round her couch, and the captain of the trireme first struck her head violently with a club Then, as the centurion bared his sword for the fatal deed, presenting her person, she exclaimed, "Smite my womb," and with many wounds she was slain

9 So far our accounts agree That Nero gazed on his mother after her death and praised [illegible]

tator, which from a great height commands a [illegible]

of destruction

Many years before Agrippina had anticipated this end for herself and had spurned the thought. [illegible]

10. But the emperor, when the crime was at last accomplished, realised its portentous guilt. [illegible]

daring crime Then his friends went to the temples, and, an example having once been set, the neighbouring towns of Campania testified their joy with sacrifices and deputations. He himself, with an opposite phase of hypocrisy, seemed sad, and almost angry at his own deliverance, and shed tears over his mother's death But as the aspects of places change not, as do the looks of men, and as he had ever before his eyes the dreadful sight of that sea with its shores (some too believed that the notes of a funereal trumpet were heard from the surrounding heights, and wailings from the mother's grave), he retired to Neapolis and sent a letter to the Senate, the drift of which was that Agerinus, one of Agrippina's confidential freedmen, had been detected with the dagger of an assassin, and that in the consciousness of having planned the crime she had paid its penalty

11 He even revived the charges of a period long past, how she had aimed at a share of empire, and at inducing the prætorian cohorts to swear obedience to a woman, to the disgrace of the Senate and people, how, when she was disappointed, in her fury with the soldiers, the

bursting into the Senate house and giving answers to foreign nations! He glanced too with indirect censure at the days of Claudius, and ascribed all the abominations of that reign to his mother, thus seeking to show that it was the State's good fortune which had destroyed her. For he actually told the story of the shipwreck; but who could be so stupid as to believe that it was accidental, or that a shipwrecked woman had sent one man with a weapon to break through an emperor's guards and fleets? So now it was not Nero, whose brutality was far beyond any remonstrance, but Seneca who was in ill repute, for having written a confession in such a style.

12 Still there was a marvellous rivalry among the nobles in decreeing thanksgivings at all the shrines, and the celebration with annual games of Minerva's festival, as the day on which the plot had been discovered, also, that a golden image of Minerva with a statue of the emperor by its side should be set up in the Senate house, and that Agrippina's birthday should be classed among the inauspicious days Thrasea Pætus, who had been used to pass over previous flatteries in silence or with brief assent, then walked out of the Senate, thereby imperilling himself, without communicating to the other senators any impulse towards freedom.

There occurred too a thick succession of portents, which meant nothing A woman gave birth to a snake, and another was killed by a thunderbolt in her husband's embrace Then the sun was suddenly darkened and the fourteen districts of the city were struck by lightning All this happened quite without any

towards his mother, and prove that since her removal, his clemency had increased, he restored to their ancestral homes two distinguished ladies, Junia and Calpurnia, with two ex prætors, Valerius Capito and Licinius Gabolus, whom Agrippina had formerly banished. He also allowed the ashes of Lollia Paulina to be brought back and a tomb to be built over them Iturius and Calvisius, whom he had himself temporarily exiled, he now released from their penalty Silana indeed had died a natural death at Tarentum, whither she had returned from her distant exile, when the power of Agrippina, to whose enmity she owed her fall, began to totter, or her wrath was at last appeased

13. While Nero was lingering in the towns of Campania, doubting how he should enter Rome, whether he would find the Senate submissive and the populace enthusiastic, all the vilest courtiers, and of these never had a court a more abundant crop, argued against his hesitation by assuring him that Agrippina's name was hated and that her death had heightened his popularity "He might go without a fear," they said, ' and experience in his person men's veneration for him " They insisted at the same time on preceding him They found greater enthusiasm than they had promised, the tribes coming forth to meet him, the Senate in holiday attire, troops of their children and wives arranged according to sex and age, tiers of seats raised for the spectacle, where he was to pass,

14 He had long had a fancy for driving a four horse chariot, and a no less degrading taste for singing to the harp, in a theatrical fashion, when he was at dinner This he would remind people was a royal custom, and had been the practice of ancient chiefs, it was celebrated too in the praises of poets and was meant to show honour to the gods Songs indeed, he said, were sacred to Apollo, and it was in the dress of a singer that that great and prophetic deity was seen in Roman temples as well as in Greek cities He could no longer be restrained, when Seneca and Burrus thought it best to concede one point that he might not persist in both A space was enclosed in the Vatican valley where he might manage his horses, without the spectacle being public. Soon he actually invited all the people of Rome, who extolled him in their praises, like a mob which craves for amusements and rejoices when a prince draws them the same way However, the public exposure of his shame acted on him as an incentive instead of sickening him, as men expected Imagining that he mitigated the scandal by disgracing many others, he brought on the stage descendants of noble families, who sold themselves because they were paupers As they have ended their days, I think it due to their ancestors not to hand down their names And indeed the infamy is his who gave them wealth to reward their degradation rather than to deter them from degrading themselves He prevailed too on some well known Roman knights, by immense presents, to offer their services in the amphitheatre, only pay from one who is able to command, carries with it the force of compulsion

15 Still, not yet wishing to disgrace himself on a public stage, he instituted some games under the title of "juvenile sports," for which people of every class gave in their names Neither rank nor age nor previous high promotion hindered any one from practising the art of a Greek or Latin actor and even stooping to gestures and songs unfit for a man Noble ladies too actually played disgusting parts and in the grove, with which Augustus had surrounded the lake for the naval fight, there were erected places for meeting and refreshment, and every incentive to excess was offered for sale Money too was distributed, which the respectable had to spend under sheer compulsion and which the profligate gloried in squandering Hence a rank growth of abominations and of all infamy Never did a more filthy rabble add a worse licentiousness to our long corrupted morals Even, with virtuous training, purity is not easily upheld, far less amid rivalries in vice could modesty or propriety or any trace of good manners be preserved Last of all, the emperor himself came on the stage, tuning his lute with elaborate care and trying his voice with his attendants There were also present, to complete the show, a guard of soldiers with centurions and tribunes, and Burrus, who grieved and yet applauded Then it was that Roman knights were first enrolled under the title of Augustani, men in their prime and remarkable for their strength, some, from a natural frivolity, others from the hope of promotion Day and night they kept up a thunder of applause, and applied to the emperor's person and voice the epithets of deities Thus they lived in fame and honour, as if on the strength of their merits

16 Nero however, that he might not be known only for his accomplishments as an actor, also affected a taste for poetry, and drew round him persons who had some skill in such compositions, but not yet generally recognised They used to sit with him, stringing together verses prepared at home, or extemporised on the spot, and fill up his own expressions, such as they were, just as he threw them off This is plainly shown by the very character of the poems, which have no vigour or inspiration, or unity in their flow

He would also bestow some leisure after his banquets on the teachers of philosophy, for he enjoyed the wrangles of opposing dogmatists And some there were who liked to exhibit their gloomy faces and looks, as one of the amusements of the court

17 About the same time a trifling beginning led to frightful bloodshed between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeii, at a gladiatorial show exhibited by Livineius Regulus, who had been, as I have related, expelled from the Senate With the unruly spirit of townsfolk, they began with abusive language of each other, then they took up stones and at last weapons, the advantage resting with the populace of Pompeii, where the show was being exhibited And so there were brought to Rome a number of the people of Nuceria, with their bodies mutilated by wounds and many lamented the deaths of children or of parents The emperor entrusted the trial of the case to the Senate, and the Senate to the consuls, and then again the matter being referred back to the Senators, the inhabitants of Pompeii were forbidden to have any such public gathering for ten years, and all associations they had formed in defiance of

laws were dissolved Livineius and the others who had excited the disturbance, were punished with exile

18 Pedius Blæsus was also expelled from the Senate on the accusation of the people of Cyrene, that he had violated the treasury of Æsculapius and had tampered with a military levy by bribery and corruption This same people prosecuted Acilius Strabo who had held the office of prætor, and had been sent by Claudius to adjudicate on some lands which were bequeathed by king Apion their former possessor, together with his kingdom to the Roman people, and which had since been seized by the neighbouring proprietors, who trusted to a long continued licence in wrong as if it con

[illegible]

theless he was for relieving the allies, and that he waived all claim to what had been taken into possession

19 Then followed the deaths of two illustrious men, Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, who had flourished through a career of the

[illegible]

which the contrast of his character to that of Afer, whom he equalled in genius, rendered the more conspicuous

20 In Nero s fourth consulship with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague, a theatrical entertainment to be repeated every five years was established at Rome in imitation of the Greek festival Like all novelties, it was variously canvassed There were some who declared that even Cnius Pompeius was censured by the older men of the day for having set up a fixed and permanent theatre Formerly, they said, the games were usually exhibited with hastily erected tiers of benches and a temporary stage, and the people stood to witness them, that they might not, by having the chance of sitting down, spend a succession of entire days in idleness Let the ancient character of these shows be retained, whenever the prætors exhibited them, and let no citizen be under the necessity of competing As it was, the morality of their fathers, which had by degrees been forgotten, was utterly subverted by the introduction of a lax tone, so that all which could suffer or produce corruption was to be seen at Rome, and a degeneracy bred by foreign tastes was infecting the youth who devoted themselves to athletic sports, to idle loungings and low intrigues, with the encouragement of the emperor and Senate, who not only granted licence to vice, but even applied a compulsion to drive Roman nobles into disgracing themselves on the stage, under the pretence of being orators and poets What remained for them but to strip themselves naked,

[illegible]

critical sagacity to effeminate strains of music and sweet voices? Night too was given up to infamy, so that virtue had not a moment left to her, but all the vilest of that promiscuous throng dared to do in the darkness anything they had lusted for in the day

21 Many people liked this very licence, but they screened it under respectable names "Our ancestors," they said, were not averse to the attractions of shows on a scale suited to the wealth of their day, and so they introduced actors from the Etruscans and horse races from

[illegible]

this kind of show in the capital Besides, even economy had been consulted when a permanent edifice was erected for a theatre, in preference to a structure raised and fitted up yearly at vast expense Nor would the magistrates, as hitherto, exhaust their substance, or would the

[illegible]

to genius and it could not be a burden for any judge to bestow his attention on graceful pursuits or on legitimate recreations It was to mirth rather than to profligacy that a few nights every five years were devoted, and in these amid such a blaze of illumination no lawless conduct could be concealed'

This entertainment, it is true, passed off without any notorious scandal The enthusiasm too of the populace was not even slightly kindled, for the pantomimic actors though permitted to return to the stage, were excluded from the

sacred contests No one gained the first prize for eloquence but it was publicly announced that the emperor was victorious Greek dresses, in which most people showed themselves during this festival, had then gone out of fashion

22 A comet meantime blazed in the sky, which in popular opinion always portends revolution to kingdoms So people began to ask, as if Nero was already dethroned who was to be elected In every one s mouth was the name of Rubellius Blandus who inherited through his mother the high nobility of the Julian family He was himself attached to the ideas of our ancestors his manners were austere his home was one of purity and seclusion and the more he lived in retirement from fear the more fame did he acquire Popular talk was confirmed by an *interpretation put with similar credulity on* a flash of lightning While Nero was reclining at dinner in his house named Sublaqueum on the Simbruine lake the table with the banquet was struck and shattered and as this happened close to Tibur, from which town Plautus derived his origin on his father s side people believed him to be the man marked out by divine providence, and he was encouraged by that

*sip He had ancestral possessions in Asia where* he might enjoy his youth safely and quietly' And so thither Plautus retired with his wife Antistia and a few intimate friends

cius conveyed to Rome and it was thought that, by thus immersing his person in it he had polluted the sacred waters and the sanctity of the spot A fit of illness which followed, convinced people of the divine displeasure

23 Corbulo meanwhile having demolished Artaxata thought that he ought to avail himself of the recent panic by possessing himself of Tigranocerta and either, by destroying it increase the enemy s terror, or, by sparing it win a name for mercy Thither he marched his

the fickle temper of the people who are as treacherous when they have an opportunity, as they are slow to meet danger The barbarians, following their individual inclinations, either came to him with entreaties or quitted their villages and dispersed into their deserts Some there were who hid themselves in caverns with

tives pitiless towards those who had crept into hiding places burning them out after filling up the entrances and exits with brushwood and bushes As he was on his march along the frontier of the Mardi he was incessantly attacked by that tribe which is trained to guerilla warfare and defended by mountains against an invader Corbulo threw the Iberians on them, ravaged their country and punished the enemy s *daring at the cost of the blood of the foreigner*

24 Both Corbulo and his army though suffering no losses in battle, were becoming exhausted by short supplies and hardships compelled as they were to stave off hunger solely

same or even more burdens than the common soldier Subsequently, they reached lands under cultivation and reaped the crops, and of two fortresses in which the Armenians had fled for refuge one was taken by storm the other, *which repulsed the first attack, was reduced by* blockade Thence the general crossed into the country of the Tauraunites, where he escaped an unforeseen peril Near his tent a barbarian of no mean rank was discovered with a dagger, who divulged under torture the whole method of the plot, its contrivance by himself, and his associates The men who under a show of friendship planned the treachery, were convicted and punished

Soon afterwards Corbulo's envoys whom he

edged in complimentary language Nothing

closed by an intrepid band of youths, was not stormed without a struggle They even ventured on an engagement under the walls but were driven back within their fortifications and suc-

cumbed at last only to our siege works and to the swords of furious assailants The success was the easier, as the Parthians were distracted by a war with the Hyrcanians, who had sent to the *Roman emperor, imploring alliance, and pointing* to the fact that they were detaining Vologeses as a pledge of amity When these envoys were on their way home, Corbulo, to save them from being intercepted by the enemy's picquets after their passage of the Euphrates, [illegible]

*sessions* [illegible]

gions by forced marches, and compelled him to retreat to a distance and abandon the idea of war Having harried with fire and sword all whom he had ascertained to be against us, he [illegible]

having long been a hostage at Rome, he had sunk into servile submissiveness Nor was he unanimously welcomed, as some still cherished a liking for the Arsacids Most, however, in their hatred of Parthian arrogance preferred a king given them by Rome He was supported too with a force of a thousand legionaries, three allied cohorts and two squadrons of cavalry, that he might the more easily secure his new kingdom Parts of Armenia, according to their respective proximities, were put under the subjection of Pharasmanes, Polemo, Aristobulus, and Antiochus Corbulo retired into Syria, which province, as being vacant by the death of its governor Ummidius, was intrusted to him

27 One of the famous cities of Asia, Laodicea, was that same year overthrown by an earth*quake, and, without any relief from us recover* [illegible]

A further enrolment of veterans in Tarentum and Antium did but little for those thinly peopled places, for most scattered themselves in [illegible]

left behind them homes without families For whole legions were no longer transplanted as in former days, with tribunes and centurions and soldiers of every grade, so as to form a state by their unity and mutual attachment, but strangers to one another from different companies, without a head or any community of *sentiment, were suddenly gathered together,* as it might be out of any other class of human beings, and became a mere crowd rather than a colony

28 As at the elections for prætors, now generally under the Senate's control, there was the excitement of a particularly keen competition, the emperor quieted matters by promoting the three supernumerary candidates to legionary *commands He also raised the dignity of the* Senate, by deciding that all who appealed from private judges to its house, were to incur the same pecuniary risk as those who referred their [illegible]

ishment

29 In the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus, a serious disaster was sustained in Britain, where Aulus Didius, the [illegible]

the war While he lived, he had a great name for manly independence, though, in his will's final words, he betrayed a flatterer's weakness, [illegible]

Paulinus, who in military knowledge and in popular favour, which allows no one to be without a rival, vied with Corbulo, and aspired to equal the glory of the recovery of Armenia by *the subjugation of Rome's enemies* He therefore prepared to attack the island of Mona which had a powerful population and was a refuge for fugitives He built flat bottomed vessels to cope with the shallows, and uncertain depths of the sea Thus the infantry crossed, while the cavalry followed by fording or, where the water *was deep, swam by the side of their horses*

30 On the shore stood the opposing army with its dense array of armed warriors, while between the ranks dashed women, in black attire like the Furies, with hair dishevelled, waving brands All around, the Druids, lifting up

[illegible]

paralysed, they stood motionless, and exposed to [illegible]

wrapped the foe in the flames of his own brands A force was next set over the conquered, and *their groves, devoted to inhuman* superstitions, were destroyed They deemed it indeed a duty to cover their altars with the blood of captives and to consult their deities through human entrails.

31. Suetonius while thus occupied received tidings of the sudden revolt of the province [illegible]

kingdom and his house out of the reach of [illegible]

country as a gift, were stript of their ancestral possessions, and the king's relatives were made slaves Roused by these insults and the dread of worse, reduced as they now were into the condition of a province, they flew to arms and stirred to revolt the Trinobantes and others who, not yet cowed by slavery, had agreed in secret conspiracy to reclaim their freedom It was against the veterans that their hatred was most intense For these new settlers in the colony of *Camulodunum drove people out of their houses,* ejected them from their farms, called them cap- [illegible]

ever *before their eyes,* a citadel, as it seemed, of perpetual tyranny Men chosen as priests had to squander their whole fortunes under the pre- [illegible]

32. Meanwhile, without any evident cause, the statue of Victory at Camulodunum fell prostrate and *turned its* back to the enemy, as though it fled before them Women excited to frenzy prophesied impending destruction; ravings in a strange tongue, it was said, were heard in their Senate house, their theatre resounded with wailings, and in the estuary of the Tamesa had been seen the appearance of an overthrown town, even the ocean had worn the aspect of blood, and, when the tide ebbed, there had been left the likenesses of human forms, marvels interpreted by the Britons, as hopeful, by the veterans, *as alarming But as Suetonius was* far away, they implored aid from the procurator, Catus Decianus All he did was to send two hundred men, and no more, without regular arms, and there was in the place but a small military force Trusting to the protection of the temple, hindered too by secret accomplices in the revolt, who embarrassed their plans, they had constructed neither fosse nor rampart, nor had they removed their old men and women, leaving their youth alone to face the foe Surprised, as it were, in the midst of peace, they were surrounded by an immense host of the barbarians. All else was plundered or fired in the onslaught; the temple where the soldiers had assembled, was stormed after a two days' siege The victorious enemy met Petilius Cerialis, commander of the ninth legion, as he was *coming to the rescue,* routed his troops, and destroyed all his infantry. Cerialis escaped with some cavalry into the camp, and was saved by its fortifications Alarmed by this disaster and by the fury of the province which he had goaded into war by his rapac- [illegible]

the name of a colony, was much frequented by a number of merchants and trading vessels Un- [illegible]

ished, he resolved to save the province at the cost of *a single town Nor did the tears and* [illegible]

by the weakness of their sex, or the infirmity of age, or the attractions of the place, were cut off by the enemy Like ruin fell on the town of Verulamium, for the barbarians, who delighted in plunder and were indifferent to all else, passed by the fortresses with military garrisons, and attacked whatever offered most wealth

the spoiler, and was unsafe for defence About seventy thousand citizens and allies, it appeared, fell in the places which I have mentioned For it was not on making prisoners and selling them, or on any of the barter of war, that the enemy was bent but on slaughter, on the gibbet, the fire and the cross, like men soon about to pay the penalty, and meanwhile snatching at instant vengeance

34 Suetonius had the fourteenth legion with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the neighbourhood, to the number of about ten thousand armed men, when he prepared to break off delay and fight a battle He chose a position approached by a narrow defile, closed in at the rear by a forest, having first ascertained that there was not a soldier of the enemy except in his front, where an open plain extended without any danger from ambuscades His legions were in close array, round them, the light armed troops, and the cavalry in dense array on the wings On the other side, the army of the Britons, with its masses of infantry and cavalry, was confidently exulting, a vaster host than ever had assembled, and so fierce in spirit that they actually brought with them, to witness the victory, their wives riding in waggons, which they had placed on the extreme border of the plain

35 Boudicea, with her daughters before her in a chariot, went up to tribe after tribe, protesting that it was indeed usual for Britons to fight under the leadership of women But now,' she said, 'it is not as a woman descended from noble ancestry, but as one of the people that I am avenging lost freedom, my scourged body, the outraged chastity of my daughters Roman lust has gone so far that not our very persons nor even age or virginity, are left unpolluted But heaven is on the side of a righteous vengeance a legion which dared to fight has perished, the rest are hiding themselves in their camp, or are thinking anxiously of flight They will not sustain even the din and the shout of so many thousands, much less our charge and our blows If you weigh well the strength of the armies, and the causes of the war, you will see that in this battle you must conquer or die. This is a woman's resolve, as for men, they may live and be slaves"

36 Nor was Suetonius silent at such a crisis Though he confided in the valour of his men, he yet mingled encouragements and entreaties to disdain the clamours and empty threats of the barbarians "There,' he said, "you see more women than warriors Unwarlike, unarmed, they will give way the moment they have recognised that sword and that courage of their conquerors, which have so often routed them Even among many legions, it is a few who really decide the battle, and it will enhance their glory that a small force should earn the renown of an entire army Only close up the ranks, and having discharged your javelins, then with shields and swords continue the work of bloodshed and destruction, without a thought of plunder When once the victory has been won, everything will be in your power"

Such was the enthusiasm which followed the general's address and so promptly did the veteran soldiery, with their long experience of battles, prepare for the hurling of the javelins, that it was with confidence in the result that Suetonius gave the signal of battle

37 At first, the legion kept its position, clinging to the narrow defile as a defence, when they had exhausted their missiles, which they discharged with unerring aim on the closely approaching foe, they rushed out in a wedge like column Similar was the onset of the auxiliaries, while the cavalry with extended lances broke through all who offered a strong resistance. The rest turned their back in flight, and flight proved difficult, because the surrounding waggons had blocked retreat Our soldiers spared not to slay even the women, while the very beasts of burden, transfixed by the missiles, swelled the piles of bodies Great glory, equal to that of our old victories, was won on that day Some indeed say that there fell little less than eighty thousand of the Britons, with a loss to our soldiers of about four hundred, and only as many wounded Boudicea put an end to her life by poison Pœnius Postumus too, camp-prefect of the second legion, when he knew of the success of the men of the fourteenth and twentieth, feeling that he had cheated his legion out of like glory, and had contrary to all military usage disregarded the general's orders, threw himself on his sword

38 The whole army was then brought together and kept under canvas to finish the remainder of the war The emperor strengthened the forces by sending from Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand cavalry On their arrival the men of the ninth had their number made up with legionary soldiers The allied infantry and cavalry were placed in new winter quarters, and whatever tribes still wavered or were hostile were ravaged with fire and sword Nothing however distressed the enemy so much as fam

ine, for they had been careless about sowing corn people of every age having gone to the war, while they reckoned on our supplies as their own Nations, too so high spirited inclined the more slowly to peace, because Julius Classicanus, who had been sent as successor to Catus and was at variance with Suetonius, let private animosities interfere with the public interest and had spread an idea that they ought to wait for a new governor who, having neither the anger of an enemy nor the pride of a conqueror would deal mercifully with those who had surrendered At the same time he stated in a despatch to Rome that no cessation of fighting must be expected, unless Suetonius were superseded, attributing that general s disasters to perverseness and his successes to good luck.

39 Accordingly one of the imperial freedmen Polyclitus, was sent to survey the state of Britain, Nero having great hopes that his influence would be able not only to establish a good understanding between the governor and the pro-curator, but also to pacify the rebellious spirit of the barbarians And Polyclitus who with his enormous suite had been a burden to Italy and Gaul, failed not as soon as he had crossed the ocean to make his progresses a terror even to our soldiers But to the enemy he was a laughing stock for they still retained some of the fire of liberty, knowing nothing yet of the power of freedmen, and so they marvelled to see a general and an army who had finished such a war cringing to slaves Everything however was softened down for the emperor s ears and Suetonius was retained in the government but as he subsequently lost a few vessels on the shore with the crews he was ordered as though the war continued, to hand over his army to Petronius Turpilianus who had just resigned his consulship Petronius neither challenged the enemy nor was himself molested and veiled this tame inaction under the honourable name of peace

40 That same year two remarkable crimes were committed at Rome, one by a senator the other by the daring of a slave Domitius Balbus an ex prætor, from his prolonged old age his childlessness and his wealth, was exposed to many a plot His kinsman, Valerius Fabianus, who was marked out for a career of promotion, forged a will in his name with Vinicius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, Roman knights, for his accomplices These men had associated with them Antonius Primus and Asinius Marcellus Antonius was a man of ready audacity, Marcellus had the glory of being the great grandson of Asinius Pollio, and bore a character far from contemptible, except that he thought poverty the greatest of all evils So Fabianus, with the persons whom I have named and some others less distinguished, executed the will The crime was proved against them before the Senate and Fabianus and Antonius with Rufinus and Terentius were condemned under the Cornelian law Marcellus was saved from punishment rather than from disgrace by the memory of his ancestors and the intercessions of the emperor

41 That same day was fatal also to Pompeius Ælianus a young ex-quæstor suspected of complicity in the villanies of Fabianus He was outlawed from Italy, and from Spain, where he was born Valerius Pontius suffered the same degradation for having indicted the defendants before the prætor to save them from being prosecuted in the court of the city prefect purposing meanwhile to defeat justice on some legal pretext and subsequently by collusion A clause was added to the Senate s decree that whoever bought or sold such a service was to be just as liable to punishment as if he had been publicly convicted of false accusation

42 Soon afterwards one of his own slaves murdered the city prefect Pedanius Secundus either because he had been refused his freedom, for which he had made a bargain, or in the jealousy of a love in which he could not brook his master s rivalry Ancient custom required that the whole slave-establishment which had dwelt under the same roof should be dragged to execution, when a sudden gathering of the populace which was for saving so many innocent lives, brought matters to actual insurrection Even in the Senate there was a strong feeling on the part of those who shrank from extreme rigour though the majority were opposed to any innovation Of these Caius Cassius, in giving his vote argued to the following effect —

43 Often have I been present, Senators, in this assembly when new decrees were demanded from us contrary to the customs and laws of our ancestors and I have refrained from opposition not because I doubted but that in all matters the arrangements of the past were better and fairer and that all changes were for the worse, but that I might not seem to be exalting my own profession out of an excessive partiality for ancient precedent At the same time I thought that any influence I possess ought not to be destroyed by incessant protests, wishing that it might remain unimpaired should the State ever need my counsels To-day this has

come to pass, since an ex-consul has been murdered in his house by the treachery of slaves, which not one hindered or divulged, though the Senate's decree, which threatens the entire slave-establishment with execution, has been till now unshaken Vote impunity, in heaven's name, and then who will be protected by his rank, when the prefecture of the capital has been of no avail to its holder? Who will be kept safe by the number of his slaves when four hundred have not protected Pedanius Secundus? Which of us will be rescued by his domestics, who, even with the dread of punishment before them, regard not our dangers? Was the murderer, as some do not blush to pretend, avenging his wrongs because he had bargained about money from his father or because a family slave was taken from him? Let us actually decide that the master was justly slain

44 *Is it your pleasure to search for arguments in a matter already weighed in the deliberations of wiser men than ourselves? Even* if we had now for the first time to come to a *decision, do you believe that a slave took courage* to murder his master without letting fall a *threatening word or uttering a rash syllable?* Granted that he concealed his purpose, that *he procured his weapon without his fellows* knowledge Could he pass the night guard, *could he open the doors of the chamber carry* in a light, and accomplish the murder, while all were in ignorance? There are *many* preliminaries to guilt, if these are divulged by slaves, we may live singly amid numbers, safe among a trembling throng lastly, if we must perish, it will be with vengeance on the guilty Our ancestors always suspected the temper of their slaves, even when they were born on the same estates, or in the same houses with themselves and thus inherited from their birth an affection for their masters But now that we have in our households nations with different customs to our own, with a foreign worship or none at all, it is only by terror you can hold in such a motley rabble But, it will be said, the innocent will perish Well, even in a beaten army when every tenth man is felled by the club, the lot falls also on the brave There is some injustice in every great precedent, which, though injurious to individuals, has its compensation in the public advantage"

45 No one indeed dared [illegible] undoubted innocence of the great majority Still, the party which voted for their execution prevailed But the sentence could not be obeyed in the face of a dense and threatening mob, with stones and firebrands Then the emperor reprimanded the people by edict, and lined with a force of soldiers the entire route by which the condemned had to be dragged to execution Cingonius Varro had proposed that even all the freedmen under the same roof should be transported from Italy This the emperor forbade as he did not wish an ancient custom which mercy had not relaxed, to be strained with cruel rigour

46 During the same consulship, Tarquitius Priscus was convicted of extortion on the prosecution of the Bithynians, to the great joy of the senators who remembered that he had impeached Statilius, his own pro-consul An *assessment was made of Gaul by Quintus* Volusius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius *Maximus There was a rivalry, on the score of rank, between Volusius and Africanus While they both disdained Trebellius, they raised* him above themselves

47 *In that year died Memmius Regulus,* who from his solid worth and consistency was *distinguished as it is possible to* be under the shadow of an emperor s grandeur, so much so, *in fact,* that *Nero when he was ill,* with flatterers round him, who said that if aught befell him *in the course of destiny, there must be an* end of the empire, replied that the State had a re*source and on their asking where it was* specially to be found, he added in Memmius Regulus ' Yet Regulus lived after this, protected by his retiring habits and by the fact that he was a man of newly risen family and of wealth which did not provoke envy Nero, the same year, established a gymnasium, where oil was furnished to knights and senators after the lax fashion of the Greeks

48 In the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius, Antistius the prætor, whose lawless behaviour as tribune of the people I have mentioned, composed some libellous verses on the emperor, which he openly recited at a large gathering when he was dining at the house of Ostorius Scapula He was upon this impeached of high treason by Cossutianus Capito, who had lately been restored to a senator s rank on the intercession of his father in law, Tigellinus This was the *first* occasion on which the law of treason was revived, and men thought that it was not *so much the ruin of Antistius* which was aimed at, as the glory of the emperor, *whose veto as tribune might save from* death one whom the Senate had condemned Though

Ostorius had stated that he had heard nothing as evidence, the adverse witnesses were believed, and Junius Marullus consul elect, proposed that *the accused should be deprived of his prætor* ship, and be put to death in the ancient manner The rest assented and then Pætus Thrasea, after much eulogy of Cæsar and most bitter [illegible]

[illegible] no compulsion 'The executioner and the halter,' he said, "we have long ago abolished, still, there are punishments ordained by the laws which prescribe penalties, without judicial cruelty and disgrace to our age Rather send him to some island, after confiscating his property, there, the longer he drags on his guilty life, the more wretched will he be personally, and the more conspicuous as an example of public clemency"

49 Thrasea s freespokenness broke through the servility of the other senators As soon as the consul allowed a division, they voted with him, with but few exceptions Among these, the most enthusiastic in his flattery was Aulus Vitellius, who attacked all the best men with abuse and was silent when they replied, the usual way of a cowardly temper The consuls however, did not dare to ratify the Senate s vote, and simply communicated their unanimous resolution to the emperor Hesitating for a while between shame and rage, he at last wrote to them in reply "that Antistius, without having been provoked by any wrong, had uttered outrageous insults against the sovereign, that a demand for punishment had been submitted to the Sen[illegible]

[illegible] stacle to leniency They might determine as they pleased, and they had free liberty to acquit.'

This and more to the same effect having been read out, clearly showing his displeasure, the consuls did not for that reason alter the terms of the motion, nor did Thrasea withdraw his proposal, or the Senate reject what it had once [illegible]

50 A similar accusation caused the downfall of Fabricius Veiento He had composed many libels on senators and pontiffs in a work to which he gave the title of 'Codicils" Talius Geminus, the prosecutor, further stated that he had habitually trafficked in the emperor s favours and in [illegible]

51 But while the miseries of the State were daily growing worse, its supports were becoming weaker Burrus died, whether from illness [illegible]

was smeared with some poisonous drug under the pretence of the application of a remedy, and [illegible]

For the emperor had appointed two men to the [illegible]

nus, whose inveterate shamelessness and infamy [illegible]

eca s power, for virtue had not the same strength when one of its companions, so to say, was removed, and Nero too began to lean on worse advisers They assailed Seneca with vari[illegible]

for it had seized on Nero "Openly inimical to the prince's amusements, he disparaged his abil

in the prime of youthful manhood He ought to shake off a tutor, furnished as he was with sufficiently noble instructors in his own ancestors"

53 Seneca, meanwhile aware of these slanders, which were revealed to him by those who had some respect for merit, coupled with the fact that the emperor more and more shunned his intimacy, besought the opportunity of an interview This was granted, and he spoke as follows —

'It is fourteen years ago, Cæsar, that I was first associated with your prospects, and eight years since you have been emperor In the inter

amples taken not from my own but from your position Your great grandfather Augustus granted to Marcus Agrippa the calm repose of Mitylene, to Caius Mæcenas what was nearly equivalent to a foreign retreat in the capital itself One of these men shared his wars, the other struggled with many laborious duties at Rome, both received awards which were indeed splendid, but only proportioned to their great merits For myself, what other recompense had I for your munificence than a culture nursed, so to speak, in the shade of retirement, and to which a glory attaches itself, because I thus seem to have helped on the early training of

spread investments? Only one apology occurs to me, that it would not have been right in me to have thwarted your bounty

54 "And yet we have both filled up our respective measures, you in giving as much as a prince can bestow on a friend, and I in receiving as much as a friend can receive from a prince All else only fosters envy, which, like

support if exhausted by warfare or travel, so in this journey of life, old as I am and unequal even to the lightest cares since I cannot any longer bear the burden of my wealth, I crave assistance Order my property to be managed

zle me, I will henceforth again devote to my mind all the leisure and attention now reserved for my gardens and country houses You have yet before you a vigorous prime, and that on which for so many years your eyes were fixed, supreme power We, your older friends can answer for our quiet behaviour It will likewise redound to your honour that you have raised to the highest places men who could also bear moderate fortune"

55 Nero's reply was substantially this —"My being able to meet your elaborate speech with an instant rejoinder is, I consider, primarily your

an authority sufficient to justify any boon, of any sort, he might have bestowed But neither of them did he strip of the rewards he had given It was by war and its perils they had earned them, for in these the youth of Augustus was spent And if I had passed my years in arms, your sword and right hand would not have failed me But, as my actual condition required, you watched over my boyhood, then over my youth, with wisdom, counsel, and advice And indeed your gifts to me will, as long as life holds out, be lasting possessions those which you owe to me, your parks, investments, your country houses, are liable to accidents Though they seem much many far inferior to you in merit

haps you count yourself inferior to Vitellius, thrice a consul, and me to Claudius Such wealth as long thrift has procured for Volusius, my

which you have instructed? It will not be your moderation, if you restore me your wealth, not your love of quiet, if you forsake your emperor, but my avarice, the fear of my cruelty, which will be in all men's mouths Even if your self control were praised to the utmost, still it would not be seemly in a wise man to get glory for himself in the very act of bringing disgrace on his friend'

To these words the emperor added embraces and kisses, for he was formed by nature and trained by habit to veil his hatred under delusive flattery Seneca thanked him, the usual end of an interview with a despot But he entirely

57 When Seneca had fallen, it was easy to shake the position of Fænius Rufus by making Agrippina's friendship a charge against him

cret apprehensions, and, as soon as he had ascertained that Plautus and Sulla were the men

Burrus, to two conflicting aims but only to Nero's safety, which is at least secured against treachery in Rome by my presence As for distant commotions, how can they be checked? Gaul is roused at the name of the great dictator, and I distrust no less the nations of Asia, be

less, and eager for a busy life"

There was not a moment's delay Sulla, six days afterwards, was murdered by assassins

and Nero scoffed at its premature grey hairs as if they were a disfigurement

58 It was less of a secret that there was a design to murder Plautus, as his life was dear to many The distance too by land and sea, and the interval of time had given rise to rumours and the popular story was that he had tampered with Corbulo who was then at the head of great armies and would be a special mark for danger if illustrious and innocent men were to be destroyed Again Asia it was said, from

their orders, had gone over to the new cause These absurdities, like all popular gossip, gathered strength from the idle leisure of a credulous society

As it was one of Plautus's freedmen, thanks to swift winds, arrived before the centurion and

to help him, and daring spirits would rally round him Meantime no resource was to be re

force was on its march, many events would follow which would ripen into war Finally, by this plan he either secured safety, or he would suffer nothing worse by daring than by cowardice'

59 But all this had no effect on Plautus Either he saw no resource before him, an unarmed exile as he was, or he was weary of an uncertain hope, or was swayed by his love of his wife and of his children, to whom he thought the emperor, if harassed by no anxiety, would be more merciful Some say that another message came

await death with firmness rather than lead a precarious and anxious life At all events, he was surprised at midday, when stripped for exercise In that state the centurion slew him

the presence of Pelago, an eunuch, whom Nero had set over the centurion and his company, like a despot's minister over his satellites.

been a Nero?" Then casting off all fear he prepared to hurry on his marriage with Poppæa, hitherto deferred because of such alarms as I have described, and to divorce his wife Octavia, ... life because her

and that he gave the most anxious ... the safety of the State On this pretext a thanksgiving was decreed, and also the expulsion from the Senate of Sulla and Plautus, more grievous, however, as a farce than as an actual calamity

60 Nero, on receiving this decree of the Senate and seeing that every piece of his wicked ... regarded as a conspicuous merit, drove

a paramour, then as her husband, ... of Octavia's servants to accuse her of an intrigue with a slave The man fixed on as the guilty lover was one by name Eucærus, an Alexandrine by ... to the flute. As a conse- ... nder ... e in ... most ... se of ... er to ... avia's ... how- ... ordinary divorce, ... of the house of Burrus and of the estates of Plautus, an ill starred gift She was soon afterwards banished to Campania under military surveillance. ... mon- ... have ... ingers ... r po- ... not re- pent of his outrage, ... er position as wife.

covering them with flowers, and setting them up in the forum and in the temples There was even a burst of applause for the emperor, men hailing the recalled Octavia And now they were pouring into the Palace in crowds, with loud shoutings, when some companies of soldiers

... bias, and ... exclaimed that she was not in the position of a rival fighting for marriage, though that was dearer to her than life, but that her very life was brought into jeopardy by the dependants and slaves of Octavia, who had assumed the name of the people, and dared in peace what could hardly happen in war "Those arms," she said, "have been taken up against the emperor; a leader only is wanting, and he will easily be found in a commotion Only let her whose mere beck, though she is far away, stirs up tumult, quit Campania, and make her way in person to Rome And, again, what is my sin? What offense have I caused any one? Is it that I am about to give to the house of the Cæsars a lawful heir? Do the people of Rome prefer that the offspring of an Egyptian flute-player should be raised to the imperial throne? In a word, if it be expedient, Nero should of his own choice rather than on compulsion send for her who ruled him, or else secure his safety by a righteous vengeance The beginning of a commotion has often been quieted by slight precautions, but if people once despair of Octavia being Nero's wife, they will soon find her a husband"

62 Her various arguments, tending both to ... enrage, at once alarmed and ... about ... torture of the slave girls exposed its ... Consequently it was decided to procure a confession from some one on whom could also be fastened a charge of revolutionary designs Fittest for this seemed the perpetrator of the mother's murder, Anicetus, commander, as I have already mentioned, of the fleet at Misenum, who got but scant gratitude after that atrocious ... ntly all the more vehement

them.

The emperor accordingly sent for Anicetus,

and reminded him of his former service 'He alone," he said, 'had come to the rescue of the prince's life against a plotting mother Close at hand was a chance of winning no less gratitude by ridding him of a malignant wife No violence or weapons were needed, only let him confess to an intrigue with Octavia" Nero then promised him a secret but ample immediate recompense, and some delightful retreat, while he threatened him with death in case of refusal Anicetus, with the moral insensibility of his nature and a promptness inspired by previous atrocities, invented even more than was required of him, and confessed before friends whom the prince had called in, as a sort of judicial council He was then banished to Sardinia, where he endured exile without poverty, and died a natural death

63 Nero meanwhile declared by edict that [illegible]

had procured abortion, a fact he had himself ascertained Then he confined her in the island of Pandataria No exile ever filled the eyes of beholders with tears of greater compassion Some still remembered Agrippina, banished by Tiberius, and the yet fresher memory of Julia, whom Claudius exiled, was present to men's thoughts But they had life s prime for their stay, they had seen some happiness, and the horror of the moment was alleviated by recollections of a better lot in the past For Octavia, from the first, her marriage-day was a kind of funeral, brought, as she was, into a house where she had nothing but scenes of mourning, her father and, an instant afterwards, her brother, having been snatched from her by poison, then, a slave girl raised above the mistress, Poppæa married only to insure a wife's ruin, and, to end all, an accusation more horrible than any death

64 And now the girl, in her twentieth year, with centurions and soldiers around her, already removed from among the living by the forecast of doom, still could not reconcile herself to death After an interval of a few days, she received an order that she was to die, although she protested that she was now a widow [illegible]

ly bound with cords, and the veins of every limb were opened, but as her blood was con [illegible]

horror of Poppæa beholding the severed head which was conveyed to Rome

And for all this offerings were voted to the temples I record the fact with a special object Whoever would study the calamities of that period in my pages or those of other authors, is to take it for granted that as often as the emperor directed banishments or executions, so often was there a thanksgiving to the gods, and what formerly commemorated some prosperous event, was then a token of public disaster Still, if any decree of the Senate was marked by some new flattery, or by the lowest servility, I shall not pass it over in silence

65 That same year Nero was believed to have destroyed by poison two of his most powerful freedmen, Doryphorus, on the pretext of his having opposed the marriage with Poppæa, Pallas for still keeping his boundless wealth by a prolonged old age Romanus had accused Seneca in stealthy calumnies, of having been an accomplice of Caius Piso, but he was himself crushed more effectually by Seneca on the same charge This alarmed Piso, and gave rise to a huge fabric of unsuccessful conspiracies against Nero

## BOOK XV, A D 62–65

1 Meanwhile, the Parthian king, Vologeses, when he heard of Corbulo s achievements and of a foreign prince, Tigranes, having been set over Armenia, though he longed at the same time to avenge the majesty of the Arsacids, which had been insulted by the expulsion of his brother Tiridates, was, on the other hand, drawn to different thoughts as he reflected on the greatness of Rome, and felt reverence for a hitherto unbroken treaty Naturally irresolute, he was now hampered by a revolt of the Hyrcanians, a powerful tribe, and by several wars arising out of it Suddenly, as he was wavering, fresh and further tidings of disgrace goaded him to action Tigranes, quitting Armenia, had ravaged the Adiabeni, a people on its border, too extensively and continuously for mere plundering raids The chief men of the tribes were indignant at having fallen into such contempt that they were victims to the inroads, not indeed of a Roman general, but of a daring hostage, who for so many years had been numbered among slaves Their anger was inflamed by Mo-

nobazus, who ruled the Adiabeni, and repeatedly asked what protection he was to seek and from what quarter—"Already,' he said, 'Armenia has been given up, and its borders are being wrested from us, and unless the Parthians help us, we shall find that subjection to Rome is lighter for those who surrender than for the conquered' Tiridates too, exile as he was from his kingdom, by his silence or very moderate complaints made the deeper impression "It is not,' he urged, by weak inaction that great empires are held together, there must be the struggle of brave men in arms, might is right with those who are at the summit of power And though it is the glory of a private house to keep its own, it is the glory of a king to fight for the possessions of others'

2 Moved by these considerations Vologeses called a council, placed Tiridates by his side, and began to speak as follows —

'This man before you born from the same father as myself, having waived in my favour, on the ground of age, the highest title of all, was established by me in the possession of Armenia, which is accounted the third grade of power As for Media Pacorus was already in

[illegible]

they have never with success to themselves dis-

[illegible]

rather than by bloodshed by having a good cause rather than by arms, that I had wished to retain what my ancestors had won If I have sinned through irresolution, my valour shall make amends for it Assuredly your strength and renown are at their height, and you have in addition the repute of obedience, which the greatest of mortals must not despise, and which the gods highly esteem"

As he spoke, he encircled Tiridates' brow with

[illegible]

that Tigranes was to be driven out of Armenia He would himself abandon his feud with the Hyrcanians, and raise his own national force in all its warlike strength by way of menace to the Roman provinces

[illegible]

to the support of Tigranes, with secret instructions that they were to conduct all their operations with deliberation rather than despatch, as *he would prefer to sustain rather than to make* war And indeed he had written to the emperor that a general was wanted specially for the defence of Armenia, and that Syria, threatened as

[illegible]

hastily collected force of provincials, and occupied with troops the enemy s approaches And as the country was deficient in water, he established forts to guard the wells, and concealed some of the streams with heaps of sand

4 While Corbulo was thus preparing for the defence of Syria, Moneses rapidly pushed on his forces to anticipate the rumour of his advance, but he did not any the more find Tigranes unaware of or unprepared for his movement He had, in fact, occupied Tigranocerta, a city strong from the multitude of its defenders and the vastness of its fortifications In addition, the river Nicephorius, the breadth of which is far from contemptible, circled a portion of its walls, and a wide fosse was drawn where they distrusted the protection of the stream There were some soldiers too, and supplies previously provided In the conveyance of these a few men had hurried on too eagerly, and, having been surprised by a sudden attack from the enemy, had inspired their comrades with rage rather than fear But the Parthian has not the daring in close combat needed for a successful siege His thin showers of arrows do not alarm men within

[illegible]

Tigranocerta, and with fearless spirit announced his message With Vologeses it was an old and deep conviction that he should shun the arms of Rome Nor was the present going smoothly with him The seige was a failure, Tigranes was safe with his troops and supplies,

those who had undertaken the storming of the place had been routed, legions had been sent into Armenia, and other legions were ready to rush to the attack on behalf of Syria, while his own cavalry was crippled by want of food A host of locusts, suddenly appearing, had devoured every blade of grass and every leaf. And so, hiding his fear and presenting a more conciliatory attitude, he replied that he would send envoys to the Roman emperor for the possession of Armenia and the conclusion of

[illegible]

them as a secret understanding that with the cessation of war on both sides and the departure of [illegible]

menia. [illegible]

army I [illegible]

Why had they abandoned in peace what they had defended in war? Was it better for them to have wintered on the confines of Cappadocia in *hastily constructed huts, than in the capital of* a kingdom lately recovered?" There had been, in short, a suspension of arms, in order that Vologeses might fight some other foe than Cor

[illegible]

heard that Cæsennius Pætus was on his way

[illegible]

tween them according to circumstances But as Corbulo could not endure a rival, so Pætus, who would have been sufficiently honoured by rank-

[illegible]

man administration, instead of the empty shadow of a king

7 About the same time the envoys of Vologeses, who had been sent, as I have related, to the emperor, returned without success, and the Parthians made open war Nor did Pætus decline the challenge, but with two legions, the 4th and 12th, the first of which was then commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus and the second by Calavius Sabinus, entered Armenia, with unlucky

[illegible]

spoilt, and as winter was now at hand, he led back his army and wrote a letter to the emperor, as if the war was finished, in pompous language, but barren of facts

9 Meanwhile Corbulo occupied the bank of the Euphrates, which he had never neglected, with troops at closer intervals That he might have no hindrance in throwing a bridge over it

[illegible]

of remarkable size, linked together by beams, with towers rising from their decks, and with catapults and balistas he drove off the barbarians The stones and spears penetrated their host at

[illegible]

from which he had hoped for the repute of an augmented army. Yet even thus the camp might have been held, and the Parthian foe baffled, by [illegible]

back on some quite different and inferior plan So now, leaving his winter quarters, and exclaiming that not the fosse or the rampart, but [illegible]

in advance to reconnoitre the enemy's forces, he returned in alarm And, as Vologeses had not [illegible]

and son he removed to a fortress named Arsamosata, with a cohort for their defence, thus dispersing the troops which, if kept together, could easily have checked the desultory skirmishing of the enemy He could, it is said, scarcely be driven to confess to Corbulo how the enemy was pressing him Corbulo made no haste, [illegible]

to be in instant readiness

11 Vologeses meanwhile, though he had heard that the roads were blocked by Pætus, here with infantry, there with cavalry, did not alter his plan, but drove off the latter by the menace of an attack, and crushed the legionaires, only one centurion of whom, Tarquitius Crescens, dared to defend a tower in which he was keeping guard He had often sallied out, and cut to pieces such of the barbarians as came [illegible]

gerating in their terror the king's valour, and the warlike strength of his tribes, everything in short, to the simple credulity of those who trembled with like fear. Even the general did not struggle against his reverses. He had indeed wholly abandoned all the duties of a soldier, and had again sent an entreaty to Corbulo, that he would come with speed to save the standards and eagles, and the name yet left to the unfortunate army; they meantime, he said, would hold to their fidelity while life lasted.

12 Corbulo, perfectly fearless, left half his army in Syria to retain the forts built on the Euphrates, and taking the nearest route, which also was not deficient in supplies, marched through the country of Commagene, then through Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia [illegible]

feated army was Paccius, a first rank centurion, then many of the soldiers, whom, when they pleaded various excuses for flight, he advised to return to their standards and throw themselves [illegible]

was not to villages or towns of Armenia, but to a Roman camp with two legions, a worthy recompense for their efforts, that they were bound If each common soldier were to have bestowed on him by the emperor's hand the special hon- [illegible]

siasm, and some too were filled with an ardour peculiarly their own by the perils of brothers and kinsfolk, they hurried on by day and night their uninterrupted march.

13 All the more vigorously did Vologeses press the besieged, now attacking the legions' entrenchments, and now again the fortress, which guarded those whose years unfitted them for war He advanced closer than is the Parthian [illegible]

general's order, others by their own cowardice; they seemed to be awaiting Corbulo, and should they be overpowered by force, they had before them the examples of Candium and Numantia "Neither the Samnites, Italian people as they were, nor the Carthaginians, the rivals of the Roman empire, were, it seemed, equally formidable, and even the men of old, with all their strength and glory, whenever fortune was adverse, had taken thought for safety."

The general, although he was overcome by

[illegible]

[illegible]

had been under Roman dominion, or subject to a king chosen by the emperor Peace, he reminded him, was equally for the interest of both, and it would be well for him not to look only at the present He indeed had advanced with the whole strength of his kingdom against two legions, while the Romans had all the rest of the world with which to sustain the war

14 To this Vologeses replied nothing to the purpose, but merely that he must wait for his brothers Pacorus and Tiridates, that the place and time of their meeting had been fixed on as the occasion when they would decide about Armenia, and that heaven had granted them a further honour, well worthy of the Arsacids, the [illegible]

[illegible]

to go Thereupon Pætus dwelt on the memories of the Luculli and Pompeii, and of all that the Cæsars had done in the way of holding or giving away Armenia, while Vasaces declared that we had the mere shadow of possession and of bestowing, but the Parthians, the reality of power After much arguing on both sides, Monobazus of the Adiabeni was called the next day to be a witness to the stipulations into which they had entered It was agreed that the legions should be released from the blockade, that all the troops should quit Armenian territory, and that the forts and supplies should be surrendered to the Parthians, and when all this had been completed, Vologeses was to have [illegible]

[illegible]

It was the Parthians, however, who had required this, as an evidence of their victory, for the bridge was of use to them, while our men went a different way Rumour added that the legions had been passed under the yoke, with other miserable disgraces, of which the Armenians had borrowed imitations For they not only entered our lines before the Roman army began to retire, but also stood about the camp streets, recognizing and dragging off slaves or beasts of burden which we had previously captured They even seized clothes and detained weapons, for the soldiers were utterly cowed and gave up everything, so that no cause for fighting might arise Vologeses having piled up the arms and bodies of the slain in order to attest our defeat, refrained from gazing on the fugitive legions He sought a character for moderation after he had glutted his pride Seated himself on an elephant, he crossed the river Arsanias, while those next to his person rushed through it at the utmost speed of their horses, for a rumour had gained ground that the bridge would give way, through the trickery of its builders But those who ventured to go on it found it to be firm and trustworthy

16 As for the besieged, it appeared that they had such an abundance of corn that they fired the granaries, and Corbulo declared that the Parthians on the other hand were in want of supplies, and would have abandoned the siege from their fodder being all but exhausted, and that he was himself only three days' march distant He further stated that Pætus had guaranteed by an oath, before the standards, in the presence of those whom the king had sent to be witnesses, that no Roman was to enter Armenia until Nero's reply arrived as to whether he assented to the peace Though this may have been invented to enhance our disgrace, yet a [illegible]

[illegible]

as frightful as if they had turned their backs in battle Corbulo, as he met them with his forces on the bank of the Euphrates, did not make such a display of his standards and arms as to shame them by the contrast His men, in their grief and pity for the lot of their comrades, could not even refrain from tears There was scarce any mutual salutation for weeping The spirit of a noble rivalry and the desire of glory, emotions which stir men in success, had died away, pity alone survived, the more strongly in the inferior ranks

17 Then followed a short conversation be [illegible]

[illegible]

forces invade Armenia, much weakened, as it was, by the departure of Vologeses Corbulo said that he had no such instructions from the emperor, it was the peril of the legions which had stirred him to leave his province, and, as there was uncertainty about the designs of the Parthians, he should return to Syria, and even

as it was, he must pray for fortune under her most favourable aspect in order that the infantry, wearied out with long marches, might keep pace with the enemy's untiring cavalry, certain to outstrip him on the pla

the fortresses on the further bank of the Euphrates, and to leave the river to be, as formerly, the boundary betw

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consulted, in disregard of known facts. And to hide his anxious fears about foreign affairs, Nero threw the people's corn,

there was no addition to the price, although about two hundred ships were destroyed in the very harbour by a violent

at the same time against former emperors whose heavy expenditure had exceeded their legitimate income He himself, he said, made the state an annual present of sixty million sesterces

19 A very demoralizing custom had at this time become rife, of fictitious adoptions of children, on the eve of the elections or of the assignment of the provinces, by a number of childless persons, who, after obtaining along with real fathers prætorships and provinces, forthwith dismissed from paternal control the sons whom they had adopted An appeal was made to the Senate under a keen sense of wrong Parents pleaded natural rights and the anxieties of nurture against fraudulent evasions and the brief ceremony of adoption "It was," they argued, "sufficient reward for the childless to have influence and distinction, everything, in short, easy and open to them, without a care and without a burden For themselves, they found that the promises held out by the laws, for which they had long waited, were turned into mock

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On this, a decree of the Senate was passed that a fictitious adoption should be of no avail in any department of the public service or even

very influential provincials, whom immense wealth has emboldened to the oppression of the weak But one speech of his had gone to the extremity of a gross insult to the Senate; for he had repeatedly declared that it was in his power to decide whether the proconsuls who

his opinion that the accused ought to be expelled from Crete, further spoke as follows —

"It is found by experience, Senators, that admirable laws and right precedents among the good have their origin in the misdeeds of others Thus the license of advocates resulted in the

whereby our allies may lose nothing of our protection, while public opinion may cease to say of us, that the estimate of a man's character is to found anywhere rather than in the judgment of our citizens

21 "Formerly, it was not only a prætor or a consul, but private persons also, who were sent to inspect the provinces, and to report what they thought about each man's loyalty And nations were timidly sensitive to the opinion of individuals But now we court foreigners and flatter them, and just as there is a vote of thanks at any one's pleasure, so even more eagerly is a prosecution decided on Well, let it be decided on, and let the pro

*the virtues are actually hated, inflexible strictness, for example, and a temper proof against partiality* Consequently, our mag-

istrates' early career is generally better than its close, which deteriorates when we are anxiously seeking votes, like candidates If such practices are stopped our provinces will be ruled more equitably and more steadily For as the dread of a charge of extortion has been a check to rapacity, so by prohibiting the vote of thanks, will the pursuit of popularity be restrained '

22 This opinion was hailed with great unanimity, but the Senate s resolution could not be finally passed, as the consuls decided that there had been no formal motion on the subject Then, at the emperor's suggestion, they decreed that no one was to propose to any council of our allies that a vote of thanks ought to be given in the Senate to proprætors or proconsuls, and

gins Lælia, died, and in her place was chosen Cornelia, of the family of the Cossi

23 During the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, Nero welcomed with something more than mortal joy the birth of a daughter by Poppæa, whom he called Augusta, the same title having also been given to Poppæa The place of her confinement was the colony of Antium, where the emperor himself was born

to the goddess of fecundity, as well as games and contests after the type of the ceremonies commemorative of Actium, and golden images of the two Fortunes were to be set up on the throne of Jupiter of the Capitol Shows too

in four months the infant died Again there was an outburst of flattery, men voting the honours of deification, of a shrine, a temple, and a priest

to go and received with fearless spirit an affront which foreboded his doom Then followed, as rumour says, an expression from the emperor, in which he boasted to Seneca of his reconciliation with Thrasea, on which Seneca congratulated him And now henceforth the glory and the peril of these illustrious men grew greater

also given clemency a trial Nor would Tiridates refuse a journey to Rome to receive the crown, were he not detained at home by the duties of a sacred office He was ready to go to the emperor s image in the Roman headquarters, and there in the presence of the legions inaugurate his reign

25 As Pætus s despatch contradicted this letter from Vologeses and implied that matters were unchanged the centurion who had arrived with the envoys was questioned as to the state of Armenia He replied that all the Romans had quitted it Then was perceived the mockery of the barbarians in petitioning for what they had wrested from us and Nero consulted with the chief men of the State whether they should accept a dangerous war or a disgraceful peace There was no hesitation about war Corbulo, who had known our soldiers and the enemy for

spire a hope that Tiridates would not make the same request in vain if only he presented his petition in person The administration of Syria was intrusted to Caius Itius, and the military forces to Corbulo to which was added the fifteenth legion, under the leadership of Marius Celsus from Pannonia Written orders were sent to the tetrarchs, the tributaries, kings, prefects and procurators, and all the prætors who governed the neighbouring provinces, to obey Corbulo s commands, as his powers were enlarged on much the same scale as that which the Roman people had granted to Cneius Pompeius on the e

When Pætus r

worse, the emperor thought it enough to reproach him with a jest, to the effect that he pardoned him at once, lest one so ready to take fright might sink under prolonged suspense

26 Corbulo meantime transferred to Syria the fourth and twelfth legions, which, from the loss of their bravest men and the panic of the remainder, seemed quite unfit for battle, and led thence into Armenia the third and sixth legions, troops in thorough efficiency, and trained by frequent and successful service And he added to his army the fifth legion, which, having been quartered in Pontus, had known nothing of disaster, with men of the fifteenth, lately brought up, and picked veterans from Illyricum and Egypt, and all the allied cavalry and infantry, and the auxiliaries of the tributary princes, which had been concentrated at Melitene, where he was preparing to cross the Euphrates Then, after the due lustration of his army, he called them together for an harangue, and began with grand allusions to the imperial auspices, and to his own achievements, while he attributed their disasters to the incapacity of Pætus He spoke with much impressiveness, which in him, as a military man, was as good as eloquence

27 He then pursued the route opened up in

them some centurions with a message anything but harsh 'Matters, he said, have not yet gone so far as to require the extremity of war Many successes have fallen to the lot of Rome,

an alliance with Rome than by mutual injuries I know how much there is of internal discord, and over what untamably fierce tribes he reigns My emperor, on the other hand, has undisturbed peace all around him, and this is his only war"

In an instant Corbulo backed up his advice by a menacing attitude He drove from their possessions the nobles of Armenia, who had been the first to revolt from us, destroyed their fortresses, and spread equal panic throughout the plain and the hill country, among the strong and among the weak

28 Against the name of Corbulo no rage, nothing of the hatred of an enemy, was felt by the barbarians, and they therefore thought his advice trustworthy Consequently Vologeses was not implacable to the uttermost, and he even asked a truce for some divisions of his kingdom Tiridates demanded a place and a day for an interview The time was to be soon, the place, that in which Pætus and his legions had been lately besieged, for this was chosen by the barbarians in remembrance for their more prosperous fortune Corbulo did not refuse, resolved that a widely different issue should enhance his renown Nor did the disgrace of Pætus trouble him, as was clearly proved by the fact that he commanded Pætus' son who was a tribune, to take some companies with him and cover up the relics of that ill starred battle field On the day appointed Tiberius Alexander, a distinguished Roman knight, sent to assist in the campaign, and Vinianus Annius, Corbulo's son in law, who, though not yet of a senator's age, had the command of the fifth legion as "legatus," entered the camp of Tiridates, by way of compliment to him, and to reassure him against treachery by so valuable a pledge Each then took with him twenty horsemen The king, seeing Corbulo was the first to dismount, and Corbulo hesitated not a moment, but both on foot joined their right hands

29 Then the Roman commended the young

on to speak in a tone of moderation He would go to Rome, and bring the emperor a new glory, a suppliant Arsacid, while Parthia was prosperous It was then agreed that Tiridates should lay down his royal crown before Cæsar's image, and resume it only from the hand of Nero The interview then ended with a kiss After an interval of a few days there was a grand display on both sides on the one, cavalry ranged in squad

the appearance of a temple In the midst, on a tribunal, was a chair of state, and on the chair a statue of Nero To this Tiridates advanced, and having slain the customary victims, he removed the crown from his head, and set it at the foot of the statue, whereupon all felt a deep thrill of emotion, rendered the more intense by the sight which yet lingered before their eyes, of the slaughter or siege of Roman armies 'But now,' they thought, the calamity is reversed, Tiridates is about to go, a spectacle to the world, little better than a prisoner'

30 To military glory Corbulo added courte sy and hospitality When the king continually asked the reason of whatever he noticed which was new to him, the announcements, for ex ample, by a centurion of the beginnings of each watch, the dismissal of the guests by the sound of a trumpet, and the lighting by a torch from beneath of an altar in front of the headquarters, Corbulo, by exaggerating everything, filled him with admiration of our ancient system Next day Tiridates begged for time which, as he was about to enter on so long a journey, might suffice for a previous visit to his brothers and his mother Meanwhile he gave up his daughter as a hostage, and prepared a suppliant letter to Nero

31 He then departed, and found Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses at Ecbatana, who was by no means unconcerned for his brother In fact, [illegible]

sword, or be debarred the honour of embracing the governors of the provinces, or have to pre sent himself at their doors, and that he might be treated at Rome with as much respect as the consuls Accustomed, forsooth, to foreign arro gance, he had no knowledge of us, who value the reality of empire and disregard its empty show

32 That same year the emperor put into possession of the Latin franchise the tribes of the maritime Alps To the Roman knights he as signed places in the circus in front of the seats of the people, for up to that time they used to enter in a promiscuous throng, as the Roscian [illegible]

33 In the year of the consulship of Caius Læ [illegible]

houses or gardens, during the Juvenile games, but these he now despised, as being but little frequented, and on too small a scale for so fine a voice As, however, he did not venture to make a beginning at Rome, he chose Neapolis, be cause it was a Greek city From this as his start ing point he might cross into Achaia, and there, winning the well known and sacred garlands of antiquity, evoke, with increased fame, the en thusiasm of the citizens Accordingly, a rabble of the townsfolk was brought together, with those whom the excitement of such an event had attracted from the neighbouring towns and colonies, and such as followed in the emperor's train to pay him honour or for various objects All these, with some companies of soldiers, filled the theatre at Neapolis

34 There an incident occurred, which many thought unlucky, though to the emperor it seem ed due to the providence of auspicious deities The people who had been present, had quitted the theatre, and the empty building then fell in without harm to anyone Thereupon Nero in an elaborate ode thanked the gods, celebrating the good luck which attended the late downfall, and as he was on his way to cross the sea of Hadria he rested awhile at Beneventum, where a crowded gladiatorial show was being exhibited by Vatinius The man was one of the most conspicuously infamous sights in the imperial court, bred, as he had been, in a shoemaker's shop, of a deformed person and vulgar wit, origi nally introduced as a butt After a time he grew so powerful by accusing all the best men, that in influence, wealth, and ability to injure, he was pre-eminent even in that bad company

35 While Nero was frequently visiting the [illegible]

hearsals of supreme power Then the most inti mate of his freedmen were put in chains and torn from him, till knowing the doom which impended, Torquatus divided the arteries in his arms A speech from Nero followed, as usual, which stated that though he was guilty and with good reason distrusted his defence, he would yet have lived, had he awaited the clemency of the judge

36 Soon afterwards, giving up Achaia for the present (his reasons were not certainly known), he returned to Rome, there dwelling in his se- [illegible]

remain unchanged and prosperous, he visited the temple of the Capitol for advice about his departure. There he adored the gods; then he

entered also the temple of Vesta, and there feeling a sudden trembling throughout his limbs, either from terror inspired by the deity or because, from the remembrance of his crimes, he was never free from fear, he relinquished his purpose, repeatedly saying that all his plans were of less account than his love of his country "He had seen the sad countenances of the citizens, he heard their secret complainings at the prospect of his entering on so long a journey, when they could not bear so much as his brief excursions, accustomed as they were to cheer themselves under mischances by the sight of the emperor Hence, as in private relationships the closest ties were the strongest, so the people of Rome had the most powerful claims and must be obeyed in their wish to retain him."

These and the like sentiments suited the people, who craved amusement, and feared, always their chief anxiety, scarcity of corn, should he be absent The Senate and leading citizens were in doubt whether to regard him as more terrible at a distance or among them After a while, as is the way with great terrors, they thought [illegible]

city, so to say, as his private house Of these entertainments the most famous for their notorious profligacy were those furnished by Tigellinus, which I will describe as an illustration, that I may not have again and again to narrate similar extravagance He had a raft constructed on Agrippa's lake, put the guests on board and set it in motion by other vessels towing it. These vessels glittered with gold and ivory, the crews were arranged according to age and experience in vice Birds and beasts had been procured from remote countries, and sea monsters from the ocean On the margin of the lake were set up brothels crowded with noble ladies, and on the opposite bank were seen naked prostitutes with obscene gestures and movements As dark- [illegible]

ted himself by every lawful or lawless indulgence, had not omitted a single abomination which could heighten his depravity, till a few days afterwards he stooped to marry himself to one of that filthy herd, by name Pythagoras, with all the forms of regular wedlock The bridal veil was put over the emperor; people saw the witnesses of the ceremony, the wedding dower, the couch and the nuptial torches; everything in a word was plainly visible, which, even when a woman weds darkness hides.

38 A disaster followed, whether accidental or treacherously contrived by the emperor, is uncertain, as authors have given both accounts, worse, however, and more dreadful than any [illegible]

Cælian hills, where, amid the shops containing inflammable wares, the conflagration both broke out and instantly became so fierce and so rapid [illegible]

interpose delay The blaze in its fury ran first through the level portions of the city, then rising to the hills, while it again devastated every place below them, it outstripped all preventive measures, so rapid was the mischief and so com- [illegible]

hood the crowds who sought to save themselves or others, dragging out the infirm or waiting for them, and by their hurry in the one case, by [illegible]

in their face Or if they reached a refuge close at hand, when this too was seized by the fire, they found that, even places, which they had imagined to be remote, were involved in the same calamity At last, doubting what they should avoid or whither betake themselves, they crowded the streets or flung themselves down in the fields, while some who had lost their all, even their very daily bread, and others out of love for their kinsfolk, whom they had been unable to rescue, perished, though escape was open to them And no one dared to stop the mischief, because of incessant menaces from a number of persons who forbade the extinguishing of the flames, because again others openly hurled brands, and kept shouting that there was one who gave them authority, either seeking to plun- [illegible]

relieve the people, driven out homeless as they were, he threw open to them the Campus Martius and the public buildings of Agrippa, and even his own gardens, and raised temporary structures to receive the destitute multitude Supplies of food were brought up from Ostia *and the neighbouring towns, and the price of* corn was reduced to three sesterces a peck These acts, though popular, produced no effect, since a rumour had gone forth everywhere that, at the very time when the city was in flames, the emperor appeared on a private stage and sang of the destruction of Troy, comparing present misfortunes with the calamities of antiquity

40 At last, after five days, an end was put to the conflagration at the foot of the Esquiline hill, by the destruction of all buildings on a vast space, so that the violence of the fire was met by clear ground and an open sky But before people had laid aside their fears, the flames returned, with no less fury this second time, and especially in the spacious districts of the city. Consequently, though there was less loss of life, the temples of the gods, and the porticoes which were devoted to enjoyment, fell in a yet more widespread ruin And to this conflagration there

four of which remained uninjured, three were levelled to the ground, while in the other seven were left only a few shattered, half burnt relics of houses

41 It would not be easy to enter into a computation of the private mansions, the blocks of tenements, and of the temples, which were lost. Those with the oldest ceremonial, as that dedicated by Servius Tullius to Luna, the great altar and shrine raised by the Arcadian Evander to the visibly appearing Hercules, the temple of Jupiter the Stayer, which was vowed by Romulus, Numa's royal palace, and the sanctuary of Vesta, with the tutelary deities of the Roman people, were burnt So too were the riches acquired by our many victories, various beauties of Greek art, then again the ancient and genuine historical monuments of men of genius, and, notwithstanding the striking splendour of the restored city, old men will remember many things which could not be replaced. Some persons observed that the beginning of this conflagration was on the 19th of July, the day on which the Senones captured and fired Rome Others have pushed a curious inquiry so far as to reduce the interval between these two conflagrations into equal numbers of years, months, and days

42 Nero meanwhile availed himself of his country's desolation, and erected a mansion in which the jewels and gold, long familiar objects, *quite vulgarised by our extravagance*, were not so marvellous as the fields and lakes, with woods on one side to resemble a wilderness, and, on the other, open spaces and extensive views The directors and contrivers of the work were Severus and Celer, who had the genius and the audacity to attempt by art even what nature had refused, and to fool away an emperor's resources They had actually undertaken to sink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouths of the Tiber along a barren shore or through the face of hills, where one meets with no moisture which could supply water, except the Pomptine marshes The rest of the country is broken rock and perfectly dry. Even if it could be cut through, the labour would be intolerable, and there would be no adequate result Nero, however, with his love of the impossible, endeavoured to dig through the near

further addition of colonnades, as a protection to the frontage of the blocks of tenements These colonnades Nero promised to erect at his own expense, and to hand over the open spaces, when cleared of the débris, to the ground landlords He also offered rewards proportioned to each

in greater abundance in several places for the *public use, officers were appointed, and* one was to have in the open court t'

stopping a fire Every building, too, was to be enclosed by its own proper wall, not by one com

tion of the roofs were not equally penetrated by the sun's heat, while now the open space unsheltered by any shade, was scorched by a fiercer glow

prayers were offered to Vulcanus, Ceres, and Proserpina Juno, too, was entreated by the ma trons, first, in the Capitol, then on the nearest part of the coast, whence water was procured to sprinkle the fane and image of the goddess

the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mis chievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judæa, the

who pleaded guilty, then, upon their informa tion, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and per ished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doom

were being destroyed

45 Meanwhile Italy was thoroughly exhaust ed by contributions of money, the provinces were ruined, as also the allied nations and the free states, as they were called Even the gods fell victims to the plunder, for the temples in Rome were despoiled and the gold carried off, which, for a triumph or a vow, the Roman peo ple in every age had consecrated in their pros perity or their alarm Throughout Asia and A chaia not only votive gifts, but the images of deities were seized, Acratus and Secundus Cari nas having been sent into those provinces The first was a freedman ready for any wickedness, the latter, as far as speech went, was thorough ly trained in Greek learning, but he had not imbued his heart with sound principles Seneca it was said, to avert from himself the obloquy of sacrilege, begged for the seclusion of a remote

to some writers, poison was prepared for him at Nero s command by his own freedman, whose name was Cleonicus This Seneca avoided through the freedman's disclosure, or his own apprehension, while he used to support life on the very simple diet of wild fruits, with water from a running stream when thirst prompted

46 During the same time some gladiators in the town of Præneste, who attempted to break loose, were put down by a military guard sta tioned on the spot to watch them, and the peo ple, ever desirous and yet fearful of change, be gan at once to talk of Spartacus, and of bygone calamities Soon afterwards tidings of a naval disaster was received, but not from war, for never had there been so profound a peace Nero, however, had ordered the fleet to return to Cam pania on a fixed day, without making any al lowance for the dangers of the sea Consequent ly the pilots, in spite of the fury of the waves,

smaller vessels

47 At the close of the year people talked much about prodigies, presaging impending evils Never were lightning flashes more frequent, and a comet too appeared, for which Nero al

tims in a pregnant condition And in the district of Placentia, close to the road, a calf was born with its head attached to its leg Then followed an explanation of the diviners, that another head was preparing for the world, which however would be neither mighty nor hidden, as its growth had been checked in the womb, and it had been born by the wayside

48 Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus then entered on the consulship, and now a conspiracy was planned, and at once became formidable, for which senators, knights, soldiers, even women, had given their names with eager rivalry, out of hatred of Nero as well as a liking for Caius Piso A descendant of the Calpurnian house, and embracing in his connections through his father's noble rank many illustrious families, Piso had a splendid reputation with the people from his virtue or semblance of virtue His eloquence he exercised in the defence of fellow-citizens, his generosity towards friends, while even for strangers he had a courteous address and demeanour He had, too, the fortuitous advantages of tall stature and a handsome face But solidity of character and moderation in pleasure were wholly alien to him He indulged in laxity, in display, and occasionally in excess This suited the taste of that numerous class who, when the attractions of vice are so powerful, do not wish for strictness or special severity on the throne

49 The origin of the conspiracy was not in Piso's personal ambition But I could not easily narrate who first planned it, or whose prompting inspired a scheme into which so many entered That the leading spirits were Subrius Flavus, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and Sulpicius Asper, a centurion was proved by the fearlessness of their death Lucanus Annæus, too, and Plautius Lateranus, imported into it an intensely keen resentment Lucanus had the stimulus of personal motives, for Nero tried to disparage the fame of his poems and, with the foolish vanity of a rival, had forbidden him to publish them As for Lateranus, a consul elect, it was no wrong but love of the State which linked him with the others Flavius Scævinus and Afranius Quintianus, on the other hand, both of senatorian rank, contrary to what was expected of them, undertook the beginning of this daring crime Scævinus, indeed, had enfeebled his mind by excess, and his life, accordingly, was one of sleepy languor Quintianus, infamous for his effeminate vice, had been satirised by Nero in a lampoon, and was bent on avenging the insult.

50 So, while they dropped hints among themselves or among their friends about the emperor's crimes, the approaching end of empire, and the importance of choosing some one to rescue the State in its distress, they associated with them Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Augurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Marcius Festus, all Roman knights Of these Senecio, one of those who was specially intimate with Nero, still kept up a show of friendship, and had consequently to struggle with all the more dangers Natalis shared with Piso all his secret plans The rest built their hopes on revolution Besides Subrius and Sulpicius, whom I have already mentioned, they invited the aid of military strength, of Gavius Silvanus and Statius Proximus tribunes of prætorian cohorts, and of two centurions, Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paulus But their mainstay, it was thought, was Fænius Rufus, the commander of the guard, a man of esteemed life and character, to whom Tigellinus with his brutality and shamelessness was superior in the emperor s regard He harassed him with calumnies, and had often put him in terror by hinting that he had been Agrippina's paramour, and from sorrow at her loss was intent on vengeance And so, when the conspirators were assured by his own repeated language that the commander of the prætorian guard had come over to their side, they once more eagerly discussed the time and place of the fatal deed It was said that Subrius Flavus had formed a sudden resolution to attack Nero when singing on the stage, or when his house was in flames and he was running hither and thither, unattended in the darkness In the one case was the opportunity of solitude in the other, the very crowd which would witness so glorious a deed, had roused a singularly noble soul, it was only the desire of escape, that foe to all great enterprises, which held him back

51 Meanwhile, as they hesitated in prolonged suspense between hope and fear, a certain Epicharis (how she informed herself is uncertain, as she had never before had a thought of anything noble) began to stir and upbraid the conspirators Wearied at last of their long delay, she endeavoured, when staying in Campania, to shake the loyalty of the officers of the fleet at Misenum and to entangle them in a guilty complicity She began thus There was a captain in the fleet, Volusius Proculus, who had been one of Nero s instruments in his mother's murder, and had not as he thought, been promoted in proportion to the greatness of his crime Either,

as an old acquaintance of the woman, or on the strength of a recent intimacy, he divulged to her his services to Nero and their barren result to himself, adding complaints and his determination to have vengeance, should the chance arise He thus inspired the hope that he could be persuaded, and could secure many others No small help was to be found in the fleet, and there would be numerous opportunities, as Nero delighted in frequent enjoyment of the sea off Puteoli and Misenum

Epicharis accordingly said more, and began the history of all the emperor s crimes 'The Senate," she affirmed, "had no power left it, yet means had been provided whereby he might

conspirators' names however, she withheld Consequently the information of Proculus was useless, even though he reported what he had heard to Nero For Epicharis being summoned and confronted with the informer easily silenced him, unsupported as he was by a single witness But she was herself detained in custody, for Nero suspected that even what was not proved to be true, was not wholly false

52 The conspirators, however, alarmed by the fear of disclosure, resolved to hurry on the assassination at Baiæ, in Piso's villa, whither the emperor, charmed by its loveliness, often went,

emperor's blood, however bad he might be, the sanctity of the hospitable board and the deities who preside over it 'Better," he said, 'in the

So he said openly, with however a secret apprehension that Lucius Silanus might, on the strength of his distinguished rank and the teachings of Caius Cassius, under whom he had been trained, aspire to any greatness and seize an empire, which would be promptly offered him by all who had no part in the conspiracy, and who would pity Nero as the victim of a crime Many thought that Piso shunned also the enterprising spirit of Vestinus, the consul, who might, he feared, rise up in the cause of freedom, or, by choosing another emperor, make the State his own gift Vestinus, indeed, had no share in the conspiracy, though Nero on that charge grati

who seldom went out, and shut himself up in his house or gardens, used to go to the entertainments of the circus, and access to him was the easier from his keen enjoyment of the spectacle They had so arranged the order of the plot, that Lateranus was to throw himself at the

unes and centurions and all the others who had sufficient daring were to rush up and do the

used to wear the weapon as though dedicated to some noble deed Piso, meanwhile, was to wait in the sanctuary of Ceres, whence he was to be summoned by Fænius, the commander of the guard, and by the others and then conveyed into the camp, accompanied by Antonia, the daughter of Claudius Cæsar, with a view to evoke the people s enthusiasm So it is related by Caius Pliny Handed down from whatever source, I had no intention of suppressing it, however absurd it may seem, either that Antonia should have lent her name at her life's peril to a hope

lust of dominion inflames the heart more than any other passion

54 It was however wonderful how among

ing from its sheath the dagger of which I have

ite slaves their freedom, and money to others He was himself depressed, and evidently in profound thought, though he affected gaiety in des-

ultory conversation Last of all, he directed ligatures for wounds and the means of stanching blood to be prepared by the same Milichus, who either knew of the conspiracy and was faithful up to this point, or was in complete ignorance and then first caught suspicions, as most authors have inferred from what followed For when his servile imagination dwelt on the rewards of perfidy, and he saw before him at the same moment boundless wealth and power, conscience and care for his patron's life, together with the remembrance of the freedom he had *received, fled from him From his wife, too, he* had adopted a womanly and yet baser suggestion; for she even held over him a dreadful thought, that many had been present, both freedmen and slaves, who had seen what he had, that one man's silence would be useless, whereas the rewards would be for him alone who was first with the information

55 Accordingly at daybreak Milichus went to the Servilian gardens, and, finding the doors shut against him, said again and again that he was the bearer of important and alarming news Upon this he was conducted by the gatekeepers to one of Nero's freedmen, Epaphroditus, and by him to Nero, whom he informed of the urgent danger, of the formidable conspiracy, and of all else which he had heard or inferred He showed him too the weapon prepared for his destruction, and bade him summon the accused

*Scævinus on being arrested by the soldiers* began his defence with the reply that the dagger about which he was accused, had of old been

he gave more freely, because, as his means were now impoverished and his creditors were pressing him, he distrusted the validity of his will Certainly his table had always been profusely furnished, and his life luxurious, such as rigid censors would hardly approve As to the bandages for wounds, none had been prepared at his order, but as all the man's other charges were absurd, he added an accusation in which he might make himself alike informer and witness

He backed up his words by an air of resolution Turning on his accuser, he denounced him as an infamous and depraved wretch, with so fearless a voice and look that the information was beginning to collapse, when Milichus was reminded by his wife that Antonious Natalis had had a long secret conversation with Scævinus, and that both were Piso's intimate friends

56 Natalis was therefore summoned, and they were separately asked what the conversation was, and what was its subject Then a suspicion arose because their answers did not agree, and they were both put in irons They could not en

about Piso, next added the name of Annæus Seneca, either as having been a messenger between him and Piso, or to win the favour of Nero, who hated Seneca and sought every means for his ruin Then Scævinus too, when he knew the disclosure of Natalis, with like pusillanimity, or under the impression that everything was now divulged, and that there could be no advantage in silence, revealed the other conspirators Of these, Lucanus, Quintianus, and Senecio long persisted in denial, after a time, when bribed by the promise of impunity, anxious to excuse their reluctance, Lucanus named his mother Atilla, Quintianus and Senecio, their chief friends, respectively, Glitius Gallus and Annius Pollio

57 Nero, meanwhile, remembering that Epicharis was in custody on the information of Volusius Proculus, and assuming that a woman's frame must be unequal to the agony, ordered her to be torn on the rack But neither the scourge nor fire, nor the fury of the men as they increased the torture that they might not be a woman's scorn, overcame her positive denial of the charge Thus the first day's inquiry was futile On the morrow, as she was being dragged back on a chair to the same torments (for with her limbs all dislocated she could not stand), she tied *a band, which she had stript* off her bosom, in a sort of noose to the arched

breath All the nobler was the example set by a freedwoman at such a crisis in screening stran

58. Even Rome itself he put, so to say, under custody, garrisoning its walls with companies of soldiers and occupying with troops the coast and the river banks Incessantly were there fly-

mans, whom the emperor trusted as being foreigners In long succession, troops of prisoners

conspirators, a casual conversation, a sudden

yet been named by the informers, but who, to get the credit of complete ignorance, frowned fiercely on his accomplices When Subius Flavus at his side asked him by a sign whether he should draw his sword in the middle of the trial and perpetrate the fatal deed, Rufus refused, and checked the man's impulse as he was putting his hand to his sword hilt

join your enterprise, those also who are yet undecided, will follow, and great will be the fame of the movement once started, and this in any new scheme is all powerful Against it Nero has taken no precaution Even brave men are dis-

the soldiers fail, the people be traitors, provided that you, if prematurely robbed of life, justify

his spirit against the worst, till a troop of soldiers arrived, raw recruits, or men recently enlisted, whom Nero had selected, because he was afraid of the veterans, imbued, though they were, with a liking for him. Piso expired by having the veins in his arms severed His will, full of loathsome flatteries of Nero, was a concession to his love of his wife, a base woman, with only a beautiful person to recommend her, whom he had taken away from her husband, one of his friends Her name was Atria Galla; that of her former husband, Domitius Silus The tame spirit of the man, the profligacy of the woman, blazoned Piso's infamy.

60. In quick succession Nero added the murder of Plautius Lateranus, consul-elect, so promptly that he did not allow him to embrace his children or to have the brief choice of his own death He was dragged off to a place set apart for the execution of slaves, and butchered by the hand of the tribune Statius, maintaining a resolute silence, and not reproaching the tribune with complicity in the plot

Then followed the destruction of Annæus Seneca, a special joy to the emperor, not because he had convicted him of the conspiracy, but anxious to accomplish with the sword what poison had failed to do It was, in fact, Natalis alone who divulged Seneca's name, to this extent, that he had been sent to Seneca when ailing, to see him and remonstrate with him for excluding Piso from his presence, when it would have been better to have kept up their friendship by familiar intercourse, that Seneca's reply was that mutual conversations and frequent interviews were to the advantage of neither, but still that his own life depended on Piso's safety Gavius Silvanus, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was ordered to report this to Seneca and to ask him whether he acknowledged what Natalis said and his own answer Either by chance or purposely Seneca had returned on that day from Campania, and had stopped at a country-house four miles from Rome Thither the tribune came next evening, surrounded the house with troops of soldiers, and then made known the emperor's message to Seneca as he was at dinner with his wife, Pompeia Paulina, and two friends

61. Seneca replied that Natalis had been sent

no natural aptitude for flattery. No one

this better than Nero, who had oftener experi- [illegible]

peror's most confidential advisers in his mo- [illegible]

accordingly ordered to go back and to announce sentence of death Fabius Rusticus tells us that he did not return the way he came, but went out of his course to Fænius, the commander of the guard and having explained to him the emperor's orders, and asked whether he was to obey them was by him admonished to carry them out, for a fatal spell of cowardice was on them all For this very Silvanus was one of the con- [illegible]

doom

62 Seneca quite unmoved, asked for tablets on which to inscribe his will, and on the centurion's refusal, turned to his friends protesting that as he was forbidden to requite them he be- [illegible]

friendship At the same time he called them back from their tears to manly resolution, now with friendly talk, and now with the sterner language of rebuke 'Where,' he asked again and again, "are your maxims of philosophy, or the [illegible]

and a tutor'

63 Having spoken these and like words, meant, so to say, for all, he embraced his wife, then softening awhile from the stern resolution of the hour, he begged and implored her to [illegible]

prefer the glory of dying I will not grudge you such a noble example Let the fortitude of so courageous an end be alike in both of us, but let there be more in your decease to win fame" [illegible]

ings might break his wife's spirit, and that, as he looked on her tortures, he might himself sink into irresolution he persuaded her to retire into another chamber Even at the last moment his eloquence failed him not he summoned his secretaries and dictated much to them which, as it has been published for all readers in his own words, I forbear to paraphrase [illegible]

ing, whether with her knowledge is doubtful For as the vulgar are ever ready to think the worst, there were persons who believed that, as long as she dreaded Nero's relentlessness she sought the glory of sharing her husband's death, but that after a time, when a more soothing prospect presented itself, she yielded to the charms of life To this she added a few subsequent years, with a most praiseworthy remembrance of her husband and with a countenance and frame white to a degree of pallor which de- [illegible]

son with which he had some time before provided himself, the same drug which extinguished the life of those who were condemned by a [illegible]

of his will, when even in the height of his wealth and power he was thinking of his life's close

65 There was a rumour that Sabrius Flavus

had held a secret consultation with the centurions, and had planned, not without Seneca's knowledge, that when Nero had been slain by Piso's instrumentality, Piso also was to be murdered, *and the empire handed over to Seneca*, as a man singled out for his splendid virtues by all persons of integrity Even a saying of Flavus was popularly current, "that it mattered not as to the disgrace if a harp player were removed and a tragic actor succeeded him" For as Nero used to sing to the harp, so did Piso in the dress of a tragedian

66 The soldiers' part too in the conspiracy no longer escaped discovery, some in their rage becoming informers to betray Fænius Rufus, whom they could not endure to be both an accomplice and a judge Accordingly Scævinus, in answer to his browbeating and menaces, said with a smile that no one knew more than he did,

cially Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, did

67. Shortly afterwards, the information of the same men proved fatal to Subrius Flavus At first he grounded his defence on his moral contrast to the others, implying that an armed soldier, like himself, would never have shared such an attempt with unarmed and effeminate associates Then, when he was pressed, he embraced

you when you became the murderer of your mother and your wife, a charioteer, an actor, and an incendiary." I have given the man's very words, because they were not, like those of Seneca, generally published, though the rough and vigorous sentiments of a soldier ought to be no less known.

*Throughout* the conspiracy nothing, it was

a pit was dug in a neighbouring field Flavus, on seeing it, censured it as too shallow and confined, saying to the soldiers around him, "Even this is not according to military rule" When bidden to offer his neck resolutely, "I wish," said he, "that your stroke may be as resolute." The tribune trembled greatly, and having only *just severed his head at two blows, vaunted his* brutality to Nero, saying that he had slain him with a blow and a half

68. Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, exhibited the next example of fortitude. To Nero's question why he had conspired to murder him, he briefly replied that he could not have rendered a better service to his infamous career. He then underwent the prescribed penalty. Nor did the remaining centurions forget their courage in suffering their punishment But Fænius Rufus had not equal spirit; he even put his laments into his will

Nero waited in the hope that Vestinus also, the consul, whom he thought an impetuous and deeply disaffected man, would be involved in *the charge None however of the conspirators* had shared their counsels with him, some from old feuds against him, most because they considered him a reckless and dangerous associate. Nero's hatred of him had had its origin in intimate companionship, Vestinus seeing through and despising the emperor's cowardice, while Nero feared the high spirit of his friend, who often bantered him with that rough humour which, when it draws largely on facts, leaves a

ing ignorant that the emperor was one of her paramours

69 As neither crime nor accuser appeared, Nero, being thus unable to assume the semblance of a judge, had recourse to the sheer might of despotism, and despatched Gerellanus, a tribune, with a cohort of soldiers, and with orders to forestall the designs of the consul, to seize what he might call his fortress, and crush his train of chosen youths For Vestinus had a

ment's delay, and every preparation was at once made He shut himself into his chamber; a physician was at his side; his veins were opened, *with life still strong in him, he was carried into* a bath, and plunged into warm water, without uttering a word of pity for himself. Meanwhile

the guards surrounded those who had sat at his table, and it was only at a late hour of the night that they were dismissed, when Nero, having pictured to himself and laughed over their terror at the expectation of a fatal end to their banquet, said that they had suffered enough punishment for the consul's entertainment

70. Next he ordered the destruction of Marcus Annæus Lucanus As the blood flowed free-

Lucanus recalled some poetry he had composed in which he had told the story of a wounded soldier dying a similar kind of death, and he recited the very lines These were his last words After him, Senecio, Quintianus, and Scævinus perished, not in the manner expected from the past effeminacy of their life, and then the remaining conspirators, without deed or word deserving record

71 Rome all this time was thronged with funerals, the Capitol with sacrificial victims. One after another, on the destruction of a broth

that this was rejoicing, rewarded with impunity the prompt informations of Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus Milichus was en

then deprived of the tribuneship, on the ground, not of actually hating the emperor, but of having the credit of it Novius Priscus, as Seneca's friend, Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio, as men disgraced rather than convicted, escaped with sentences of banishment Priscus and Gallus were accompanied respectively by their wives, Artoria Flaccilla and Egnatia Maximilla The latter possessed at first a great fortune, still unimpaired, and was subsequently deprived of it, both which circumstances enhanced her fame

Rufius Crispinus too was banished, on the opportune pretext of the conspiracy, but he was in fact hated by Nero, because he had once been Poppæa's husband It was the splendour of their name which drove Verginius Flavus and Musonius Rufus into exile Verginius encouraged the studies of our youth by his eloquence, Rufus by

sonius Maximus were forbidden to live in Italy, their penalty being the only proof they had of having been accused Atilla, the mother of Annæus Lucanus, without either acquittal or punishment, was simply ignored

72 All this having been completed, Nero assembled the troops and distributed two thousand sesterces to every common soldier, with an addition of as much corn without payment, as they had previously the use of at the market price Then, as if he was going to describe successes in war, he summoned the Senate, and

be a part of Rome's calamities

The son of a freedwoman, who had prostituted a handsome person among the slaves and freedmen of the emperors, he gave out that he was the offspring of Caius Cæsar, for he happened to be of tall stature and to have a fierce look, or possibly Caius Cæsar, who liked even harlots, had also amused himself with the man's mother

73 Nero meanwhile summoned the Senate, addressed them in a speech, and further added

said that he had destroyed men perfectly innocent out of jealousy or fear However, that a conspiracy was begun, matured, and conclusively proved was not doubted at the time by those who

deterred him from perverting public miseries into an occasion for a personal resentment, and thus importing fresh bitterness into what by the prince's clemency had been hushed up or forgotten

74 Then offerings and thanksgivings to the gods were decreed, with special honours to the Sun, who has an ancient temple in the circus where the crime was planned, as having revealed by his power the secrets of the conspiracy The games too of Ceres in the circus were to be celebrated with more horse races, and the month of April was to be called after the name of Nero A temple also was to be erected to Safety, on the spot whence Scævinus had taken his dagger The emperor himself dedicated the weapon in the temple of the capital, and inscribed on it, 'To Jupiter the Avenger' This passed without notice at the moment, but after the war of Julius Vindex it was construed as an omen and presage of impending vengeance I find in the registers of the Senate that Cerialis Anicius, consul elect, proposed a motion that a temple should as soon as possible be built at the public expense to the Divine Nero He implied indeed by this proposal that the prince had transcended all mortal grandeur and deserved the adoration of mankind Some however interpreted it as an omen of his death, seeing that divine honours are not paid to an emperor till he has ceased to live among men

## BOOK XVI, A D 65, 66

1 Fortune soon afterwards made a dupe of Nero through his own credulity and the promises of Cæsellius Bassus, a Carthaginian by birth and a man of a crazed imagination, who wrested a vision seen in the slumber of night into a confident expectation He sailed to Rome, *and having purchased admission to the emperor*, he explained how he had discovered on his land a cave of immense depth, which contained *a vast quantity of gold, not in the form* of coin, but in the shapeless and ponderous masses of ancient days In fact, he said, ingots of great weight lay there, with bars standing near them in another part of the cave, a treas- [illegible]

these riches in the fear that a new people might be demoralised by a superabundance of money, or that the Numidian kings, already for other reasons hostile, might by lust of gold be provoked to war

2 Nero upon this, without sufficiently examining the credibility of the author of the story, or of the matter itself, or sending persons through whom he might ascertain whether the intelligence was true, himself actually encouraged the report and despatched men to bring the spoil, as if it were already acquired They had triremes assigned them and crews specially selected to promote speed Nothing else at the time was the subject of the credulous gossip of the people, and of the very different conversation of thinking persons It happened, too, that the quinquennial games were being celebrated for the second time, and the orators took from this same incident their chief materials for eulogies on the emperor "Not only," they said, 'were there the usual harvests, and [illegible]

with consummate eloquence and equal sycophancy, confidently counting on the facility of his belief

3 Extravagance meanwhile increased, on the strength of a chimerical hope, and ancient wealth was wasted, as apparently the emperor had lighted on treasures he might squander for many a year He even gave away profusely from this source, and the expectation of riches was one of the causes of the poverty of the State Bassus indeed dug up his land and extensive plains in the neighbourhood, while he persisted that this or that was the place of the promised cave, and was followed not only by our soldiers [illegible]

dreams had never before been false, and that *now for the first time he had been deluded*, he escaped disgrace and danger by a voluntary death Some have said that he was imprisoned and *soon released, his property having been taken* from him as a substitute for the royal treasure

4 Meanwhile the Senate, as they were now on the eve of the quinquennial contest, wishing to avert scandal, offered the emperor the "victory in song," and added the 'crown of eloquence,' that thus a veil might be thrown over a shameful exposure on the stage Nero, however, repeatedly declared that he wanted neither favour nor the Senate's influence, as he was a match for his rivals, and was certain, in the conscientious opinion of the judges, to win

the honour by merit First, he recited a poem on the stage, then, at the importunate request of the rabble that he would make public property of all his accomplishments (these were [illegible]

wore, or letting himself be seen to spit or clear his nostrils. Last of all, on bended knee he saluted the assembly with a motion of the hand, and awaited the verdict of the judges with pretended anxiety. And then the city populace, who were wont to encourage every gesture even of actors, made the place ring with measured strains of elaborate applause. One would have thought they were rejoicing, and perhaps they did rejoice, in their indifference to the public disgrace

5 All, however, who were present from remote towns, and still retained the Italy of strict morals and primitive ways, *all too who had* come on embassies or on private business from distant provinces, where they had been unused to such wantonness, were unable to endure the *spectacle or sustain the degrading fatigue, which* wearied their unpractised hands, while they disturbed those who knew their part, and were [illegible]

difference It was a known fact that several knights, in struggling through the narrow approaches and the pressure of the crowd, were trampled to death, and that others while keeping their seats day and night were seized with some fatal malady For it was a still worse danger to be absent from the show, as many openly and many more secretly made it their business [illegible]

moment, but subsequently paid off, towards men of distinction There was a story that Ves- [illegible]

tion through his grander destiny

6 After the conclusion of the games Poppæa died from a casual outburst of rage in her husband, who felled her with a kick when she was pregnant That there was poison I cannot believe, though some writers so relate, from hatred rather than from belief, for the emperor was desirous of children, and wholly swayed by love of his wife Her body was not consumed by fire according to Roman usage, but after the custom of foreign princes was filled with fragrant spices and embalmed, and then consigned to the sepulchre of the Julii She had, however, a public funeral, and Nero himself from the rostra eulogized her beauty, her lot in having been the mother of a deified child, and fortune's other gifts, as though they were virtues.

[illegible]

Party Leader." In fact, he had thereby sought to sow the seeds of civil war and revolt from the House of the Cæsars And that he might [illegible]

an instrument of revolution

8 Nero next denounced Silanus himself in the same terms as he had his uncle Torquatus, implying that he was already arranging the details of imperial business, and setting freedmen to manage his accounts, *papers*, and *correspond*ence, imputations utterly groundless and false Silanus, in truth, was intensely apprehensive, [illegible]

and Fabatus, a Roman knight, were drawn in as accomplices By an appeal to the emperor these men eluded an impending doom and subsequently, as being too insignificant, escaped from Nero, who was busy with crimes on a far greater scale.

9 The Senate was then consulted and sentences of exile were passed on Cassius and Silanus As to Lepida, the emperor was to decide Cassius was transported to the island of Sardinia and he was quietly left to old age Silanus was removed to Ostia, whence, it was pretended, he was to be conveyed to Naxos He was afterwards confined in a town of Apulia named Barium There, as he was wisely enduring a most undeserved calamity, he was suddenly seized by a centurion sent to slay him When the man advised him to sever his veins, he replied that, though he had resolved in his heart to die, he would not let a cutthroat have the glory of the service The centurion seeing that, unarmed as he was, he was very powerful, and more like an enraged than a frightened man, ordered his soldiers to overpower him And Silanus failed not to resist and to strike blows, as well as he could with his bare hands, till he was cut down by the centurion, as though in battle, with wounds in his breast

10 With equal courage Lucius Vetus, his mother in law Sextia and his daughter Pollutia submitted to death They were hated by the emperor because they seemed a living reproach to him for the murder of Rubellius Plautus, son

Claudius Demianus, whom Vetus, when proconsul of Asia, had imprisoned for his gross misdeeds, and whom Nero now released as a recompense for the accusation

When the accused knew this and saw that he and his freedman were pitted against each other on an equal footing, he retired to his estate at Formiæ There he was put under the secret surveillance of soldiers With him was his

might suffice to avert starvation Then at her

innocent man, and not surrender to a freed

ing up her voice in a tone of menace, till the emperor showed himself unmoved alike by entreaty and reproach

11 She therefore told her father by message that she cast hope aside and yielded to necessity He was at the same time informed that judicial proceedings in the Senate and a dreadful sentence were hanging over him Some there were who advised him to name the emperor as his chief heir, and so secure the remainder for

ed each to convey away for himself whatever he could carry, leaving only three couches for the last scene Then in the same chamber, with the same weapon they sundered their veins, and speedily hurried into a bath, covered each, as delicacy required, with a single garment, the father gazing intently on his daughter, the grandmother on her grandchild, she again on both, while with rival earnestness they prayed

then the others according to priority of age They were prosecuted after their burial, and the sentence was that they should be punished in ancient fashion' Nero interposed his veto, allowing them to die without his interference Such were the mockeries added to murders already perpetrated

12 Publius Gallus, a Roman knight, was outlawed for having been intimate with Fænius Rufus and somewhat acquainted with Vetus To the freedman who was the accuser, was given, as a reward for his service, a seat in the theatre among the tribune's officers The month too following April, or Neroneus, was changed from Maius into the name of Claudius, and

auspicious

tions and crops, and carried its fury to the neighbourhood of Rome, where a terrible plague was sweeping away all classes of human beings without any such derangement of the atmosphere

as to be visibly apparent Yet the houses were filled with lifeless forms and the streets with [illegible]

wives and children, who were often consumed on the very funeral pile of their friends by whom they had been sitting and shedding tears Knights and senators perished indiscriminately, and yet their deaths were less deplored because they seemed to forestall the emperor s cruelty by an ordinary death That same year levies of [illegible]

lost to the city might be replaced Its people had previously offered this same amount for the distresses of Rome

14 In the consulship of Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus, Antistius Sosianus, who, as I have stated, had been punished with exile for repeated satires on Nero having heard that there was such honour for informers and that the emperor was so partial to bloodshed, being himself too of a restless temper and quick to seize opportunities, made a friend of a man in like condition with himself, one Pammenes, an exile in the same place, noted for his skill as an astrologer, and consequently bound to many in close intimacy He thought there must be a meaning in the frequent messages and the consultations and he learnt at the same time that an annual payment was furnished him by Publius Anteius He knew too that Anteius was hated by Nero for his love of Agrippina, and that his wealth was sufficiently conspicuous to provoke cupidity, and that this was the cause of the destruction of many Accordingly he intercepted a letter from Anteius, and having also stolen some notes about the day of his nativity and his future career, which were hidden away among Pammenes' secret papers, and having further discovered some remarks on the birth and life of [illegible]

obtain a brief reprieve of his exile. Anteius and Ostorius were, he hinted, grasping at empire and [illegible]

Ostorius were classed with condemned crimi-nals rather than with men on their trial, so completely, indeed that no one would attest the will of Ante[illegible]

a centurion was despatched to hurry on his destruction There was a motive for promptitude arising out of the fact that Ostorius with his great military fame and the civic crown he had won in Britain possessed too, as he was of huge bodily strength and skill in arms had made Nero, who was always timid and now more frightened than ever by the lately discovered conspiracy, fearful of a sudden attack So the centurion, having barred every exit from the house, disclosed the emperor's orders to Ostorius That fortitude which he had often shown in fighting the enemy Ostorius now turned against himself And as his veins though severed, allowed but a scanty flow of blood, he used the help of a slave, simply to hold up a dagger firmly, and then pressing the man s hand towards him, he met the point with his throat.

16 Even if I had to relate foreign wars and deaths encountered in the service of the State with such a monotony of disaster, I should myself have been overcome by disgust, while I should look for weariness in my readers sickened as they would be by the melancholy and continuous destruction of our citizens however glorious to themselves But now a servile submissiveness and so much wanton bloodshed at home fatigue the mind and paralyze it with grief The only indulgence I would ask from those who will acquaint themselves with these horrors is that I be not thought to hate men who perished so tamely Such was the wrath of heaven against the Roman State that one may not pass over it with a single mention, as one might [illegible]

mon burial, so in the record of their end they may receive and retain a special memorial

17 Within a few days, in quick succession, Annæus Mela, Cerialis Anicius, Rufius Cris- [illegible]

dina on a charge of conspiracy, and on receiving a message that he was doomed to die had destroyed himself Mela, son of the same parents as Gallio and Seneca, had refrained from seeking promotion out of a perverse vanity which wished to raise a Roman knight to an equality with ex-consuls He also thought that there was a shorter road to the acquisition of wealth through offices connected with the administration of the emperor's private business. He had too in his son Annæus Lucanus a powerful aid

the person of Fabius Romanus, one of the intimate friends of Lucanus A story was invented that the father and son shared between them a knowledge of the conspiracy, and a letter was forged in Lucanus's name This Nero examined, and ordered it to be conveyed to Mela, whose wealth he ravenously desired Mela meanwhile,

cil he is also said to have written, by way of remonstrance against the injustice of his death, that he died without any cause for punishment, while Rufius Crispinus and Anicius Cerialis still enjoyed life, though bitter foes to the prince It was thought that he had invented this about Crispinus, because the man had been already murdered; about Cerialis, with the object of procuring his murder Soon afterwards Cerialis laid violent hands on himself, and received less pity than the others, because men remembered that he had betrayed a conspiracy to Caius Cæsar.

18. With regard to Caius Petronius, I ought to dwell a little on his antecedents His days he passed in sleep, his nights in the business and pleasures of life Indolence had raised him to fame, as energy raises others, and he was reckoned not a debauchee and spendthrift, like most of those who squander their substance, but a man of refined luxury And indeed his talk and his doings, the freer they were and

the emperor thought nothing charming or ele-

And so he worked on the prince's cruelty, which dominated every other passion, charging Petro-

19 It happened at the time that the emperor was on his way to Campania and that Petronius,

with his friends, not in a serious strain or on topics that might win for him the glory of courage And he listened to them as they repeated,

indulged himself in sleep, that death, though forced on him, might have a natural appearance Even in his will he did not, as did many in their last moments, flatter Nero or Tigellinus or any other of the men in power On the contrary, he described fully the prince's shameful excesses, with the names of his male and female companions and their novelties in debauchery, and sent the account under seal to Nero Then he broke his signet ring, that it might not be subsequently available for imperilling others

20 *When Nero was in doubt how the ingenious varieties of his nightly revels became notorious,* Silia came into his mind, who, as a sena

kept secret what she had seen and endured, a sacrifice to his personal resentment Minucius

tron by an undeserved death

21 Nero after having butchered so many illus-

on additional grounds, because he had walked out of the Senate when Agrippina s case was under discussion, as I have already related and had not given the Juvenile games any conspicu ous encouragement Nero's displeasure at this was the deeper, since this same Thrasea had sung in a tragedian's dress at Patavium, his birth place, in some games instituted by the Trojan Antenor On the day, too on which the prætor Antistius was being sentenced to death for libels on Nero, Thrasea proposed and carried [illegible]

[illegible]

never offered a sacrifice for the safety of the prince or for his heavenly voice Though for merly he had been assiduous and unwearied in showing himself a supporter or an opponent even of the most ordinary motions of senators, [illegible]

Capito further added, 'The country in its eagerness for discord is now talking of you, Nero, and of Thrasea, as it talked once of Caius Cæsar and Marcus Cato Thrasea has his follow ers or rather his satellites, who copy, not indeed as yet the audacious tone of his sentiments but only his manners and his looks, a sour and gloomy set, bent on making your mirthfulness a reproach to you He is the only man who cares not for your safety, honours not your accom plishments The prince's prosperity he despises Can it be that he is not satisfied with your sor rows and griefs? It shows the same spirit not to believe in Poppæa's divinity as to refuse to swear obedience to the acts of the Divine Au gustus and the Divine Julius He contemns re ligious rites, he annuls laws The daily records of the Roman people are read attentively in the provinces and the armies that they may know what Thrasea has not done

'Either let us go over to his system, if it is better than ours, or let those who desire change have their leader and adviser taken from them That sect of his gave birth to the Tuberones and Favonii names hateful even to the old re public They make a show of freedom, to over turn the empire, should they destroy it, they will attack freedom itself In vain have you banished Cassius, if you are going to allow ri vals of the Bruti to multiply and flourish Final ly, write nothing yourself about Thrasea, leave the Senate to decide for us" Nero further stim ulated the eager wrath of Cossutianus and asso ciated with him the pungent eloquence of Mar cellus Eprius

23 As for the impeachment of Barea Soranus, *Ostorius Sabinus a Roman knight, had already* claimed it for himself It arose out of his proconsulate of Asia, where he increased the prince s animosity by his uprightness and dili gence, as well as by having bestowed pains on opening the port of Ephesus and passed over without punishment the violence of the citizens of Pergamos in their efforts to hinder Acratus, one of the emperor s freedmen, from carrying off statues and pictures But the crime imputed to him was friendship with Plautus and in trigues to lure the province into thoughts of re volt The time chosen for the fatal sentence was that at which Tiridates was on his way to re ceive the sovereignty of Armenia so that crime at home might be partially veiled amid ru mours on foreign affairs or that Nero might display his imperial grandeur by the murder of illustrious men, as though it were a kingly ex ploit

24 Accordingly when all Rome rushed out to welcome the emperor and see the king Thra sea, *though forbidden to appear, did not let his* spirit be cast down, but wrote a note to Nero in which he demanded to know the charges against him, and asserted that he would clear himself, if he were informed of the crimes al leged and had an opportunity of refuting them This note Nero received with eagerness, in the hope that Thrasea in dismay had written some thing to enhance the emperor's glory and to tarnish his own honour When it turned out otherwise, and he himself, on the contrary, dreaded the glance and the defiant independ ence of the guiltless man, he ordered the Senate to be summoned

25 Thrasea then consulted his most intimate *friends whether he should attempt or spurn de-*

fence Conflicting advice was offered Those who thought it best for him to enter the Senate house said that they counted confidently on his courage, and were sure that he would say nothing but what would heighten his renown "It was for the feeble and timid to invest their last moments with secrecy Let the people behold a man who could meet death Let the Senate hear words, almost of divine inspiration more than human It was possible that the very miracle

in silence"

26 Those, on the other hand, who thought that he ought to wait at home, though their opinion of him was the same, hinted that mockeries and insults were in store for him 'Spare your ears,' they said, "taunts and revilings Not only are Cossutianus and Eprius eagerly bent on crime, there are numbers more, daring enough, perchance, to raise the hand of violence in their brutality Even good men through fear do the like Better save the Senate which you have adorned to the last the infamy of such an outrage, and leave it a matter of doubt what the senators would have decided, had they seen Thrasea on his trial It is with a vain hope we are aiming to touch Nero with shame for his abominations, and we have far more cause to fear that he will vent his fury on your wife, your household, on all others dear to you And therefore, while you are yet stainless and undisgraced, seek to close life with the glory of those in whose track and pursuits you have passed it"

Present at this deliberation was Rusticus Arulenus, an enthusiastic youth, who, in his ardour for renown, offered, as he was tribune of the people, to protest against the sentence of the Senate Thrasea checked his impetuous temper, not wishing him to attempt what would be as futile, and useless to the accused as it would be fatal to the protester 'My days,' he said 'are ended, and I must not now abandon a scheme of life in which for so many years I have persevered You are at the beginning of a career *of office, and your future is yet clear Weigh* thoroughly with yourself beforehand, at such a crisis as this, the path of political life on which you enter' He then reserved for his own consideration the question whether it became him to enter the Senate

27 Next day, however, two prætorian cohorts under arms occupied the temple of Venus Genetrix. A group of ordinary citizens with swords which they did not conceal, had blocked the approach to the Senate Through the squares and colonnades were scattered bodies of soldiers, amid whose looks of menace the senators entered their house A speech from the emperor was read by his quæstor Without addressing any one by name, he censured the senators for neglecting their public duties and drawing by their example the Roman knights into idleness 'For what wonder is it," he asked, 'that men do not come from remote prov

was, so to say, a weapon for the accusers, on which they fastened

28 Cossutianus made a beginning, and then Marcellus in more violent tones exclaimed that the whole commonwealth was at stake 'It is," he said, "the stubbornness of inferiors which lessens the clemency of our ruler We senators have hitherto been too lenient in allowing him to be mocked with impunity by Thrasea throw

the habitual composer of abominable verses I miss the presence of an ex-consul in the Senate, of a priest when we offer our vows, of a citizen when we swear obedience, unless indeed, in defiance of the manners and rites of our ancestors, Thrasea has openly assumed the part of a traitor and an enemy In a word, let the man, wont to act the senator and to screen those who disparage the prince come among us, let him propose any reform or change he may desire We shall more readily endure his censure of details than we can now bear the silence by which he condemns everything Is it the peace throughout the world or victories won without loss to our armies which vex him? A man who grieves

*house, the offices of State, the city of Rome* seem

menacing look he usually wore, spoke these and like words with rising fury in his voice, countenance, and eye, that familiar grief to which a thick succession of perils had habituated the

Senate gave way to a new and profounder panic, as they saw the soldiers' hands on their weapons At the same moment the venerable form of Thrasea rose before their imagination, and some there were who pitied Helvidius too, *doomed as he was to suffer for an innocent* alliance 'What again," they asked, 'was the charge against Agrippinus except his father's sad fate, since he too, though guiltless as his son, *fell beneath the cruelty of Tiberius? As for* Montanus, a youth without a blemish, author of no libellous poem, he was positively driven out an exile because he had exhibited genius "

30 And meanwhile Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of Soranus, entered, and began by speaking of his friendship with Rubellius Plautus *and of his proconsulate in Asia which he had,* he said, adapted to his own glory rather than to the public welfare, by fostering seditious movements in the various states These were bygones, but there was a fresh charge involving the daughter in the peril of the father, to the effect that she had lavished money on astrologers *This indeed had really occurred through* the filial affection of Servilia (that was the girl s name), who, out of love for her father and the thoughtlessness of youth, had consulted them, only however *about the safety of her family,* whether Nero could be appeased, and the trial before the Senate have no dreadful result

She was accordingly *summoned before the* Senate, and there they stood facing one another before the consuls' tribunal, the aged parent, and opposite to him the daughter in the twentieth year of her age, widowed and forlorn, her husband Annius Pollio having lately been driven into banishment, without so much as a glance *at her father, whose peril she seemed to have* aggravated

31 Then on the accuser asking her whether she had sold her bridal presents or stript her neck of its ornaments to raise money for the performance of magical rites, she at first flung herself on the ground and wept long in silence *After awhile, clasping the altar steps and altar,* she exclaimed, 'I have invoked no impious deities, no enchantments, nor aught else in my unhappy prayers, but only that thou, *Cæsar, and* you, senators, might preserve unharmed this best of fathers My jewels, my apparel, and the signs of my rank I gave up, as I would have given up *my life-blood* had they demanded it They must have seen this, those men before unknown to me, both as to the name they *bear and the arts they practise No mention* was made by me of the emperor, except as one of the divinities But my most unhappy father knows nothing, and, if it is a crime, I alone am guilty"

32 While she was yet speaking, Soranus caught up her words, and exclaimed that she *had not gone with him into the province,* that, from her youth, she could not have been known to Plautus, and that she was not involved in the charges against her husband 'Treat separately," *he said,* 'the case *of one who is guilty* only of an exaggerated filial piety, and as for myself, let me undergo any fate " He was rushing, as he spoke, into the embraces of his daughter who hurried towards him, but the lictors interposed and stopped them both Place was then given to the witnesses, and the appearance *among them of Publius Egnatius provoked* as much indignation as the cruelty of the prosecution had excited pity A client of Soranus, and now hired to ruin his friend, *he professed the* dignified character of a Stoic, and had trained himself in demeanour and language to exhibit an ideal of virtue In his heart, however, treach*erous and cunning, he concealed greed and sen*suality As soon as money had brought these vices to light, he became an example, warning us to beware just as much of those who under the guise of virtuous tastes are false and deceitful in friendship, as of men wholly entangled in falsehoods and stained with every infamy

33 *That same day brought with it a noble* pattern in Cassius Asclepiodotus, whose vast wealth made him a foremost man in Bithynia He had honoured Soranus in his prosperity with a respect which he did not cast off in his fall, and he was now stript of all his property and driven into exile so impartially indifferent is heaven to examples of virtue and vice Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia were allowed the choice of death Helvidius and Paconius were banish*ed from Italy Montanus was spared to his fa*ther's intercessions on the understanding that he was not to be admitted to political life The prosecutors Eprius and Cossutianus, received each five million sesterces, Ostorius twelve hundred thousand, with the decorations of the quæstorship

34 Then, as evening approached, the consul's quæstor was sent to Thrasea, who was passing his time in his garden He had had a crowded *gathering of distinguished men and women,* giving special attention to Demetrius, a professor of the Cynic philosophy With him, as might be inferred from his earnest *expression of face* and from words heard when they raised their voices, he was speculating on tl

soul and on the separation of the spirit from the body, till Domitius Cæcilianus, one of his intimate friends, came to him and told him in detail what the Senate had decided When all who were present, wept and bitterly complained, Thrasea urged them to hasten their departure and not mingle their own perils with the fate of a doomed man Arria, too, who aspired to follow her husband's end and the example of Arria, her mother, he counselled to preserve her life, and not rob the daughter of their love of her only stay

35 Then he went out into a colonnade, where he was found by the quæstor, joyful rather than otherwise, as he had learnt that Helvidius, his son in law, was merely excluded from Italy. When he heard the Senate's decision, he led [illegible]

Deliverer Behold, young man, and may the gods avert the omen, but you have been born into times in which it is well to fortify the spirit [illegible]

[At this point the Annals are broken off Much remained to be told about the last two years of Nero s reign ]

# THE HISTORIES

# Contents

# The Histories

## BOOK I, *January–March*, A D 69

1 I BEGIN my work with the time when Servius Galba was consul for the second time with Titus Vinius for his colleague. Of the former period, the 820 years dating from the founding of the city, many authors have treated, and while they had to record the transactions of the Roman people, they wrote with equal eloquence and freedom After the conflict at Actium, and when it became essential to peace, that all power should be centered in one man, these great intellects passed away Then too the truthfulness of history was impaired in many ways; at first, through men's ignorance of public affairs, which were now wholly strange to them, then, through their passion for flattery, or, on the other hand, their hatred of their masters And so between the enmity of the one and the servility of the other, neither had any regard for posterity But while we instinctively shrink from a writer's adulation, we lend a ready ear to detraction and spite, because flattery involves the shameful imputation [illegible]

that my elevation was begun by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and still further advanced by Domitian, but those who profess inviolable truthfulness must speak of all without partial [illegible]

Nerva and the empire of Trajan, enjoying the rare happiness of times, when we may think what we please, and express what we think.

[illegible]

were three civil wars, there were more with foreign enemies, there were often wars that had both characters at once There was success in the East, and disaster in the West. There were disturbances in Illyricum, Gaul wavered in its allegiance, Britain was thoroughly subdued and immediately abandoned; the tribes of the Suevi and the Sarmatæ rose in concert against us, the Dacians had the glory of inflicting as well as suffering defeat, the armies of Parthia were all but set in motion by the cheat of a counterfeit Nero Now too Italy was prostrated by disasters either entirely novel, or that recurred only after a long succession of ages; cities in Campania's richest plains were swallowed up and overwhelmed, Rome was wasted by conflagrations, its oldest temples consumed, and the Capitol itself fired by the hands of citizens Sacred rites were profaned, there was profligacy in the highest ranks, the sea was crowded with exiles, and its rocks polluted with bloody deeds In the capital there were yet worse horrors Nobility, wealth, the refusal or the acceptance of office, were grounds for ac- [illegible]

against their masters, and freedmen to betray their patrons, and those who had not an enemy were destroyed by friends

3 Yet the age was not so barren in noble qualities, as not also to exhibit examples of [illegible]

the famous deaths of antiquity Besides the manifold vicissitudes of human affairs, there were prodigies in heaven and earth, the warning voices of the thunder, and other intimations of the future, auspicious or

doubtful or not to be mistaken Never surely did more terrible calamities of the Roman People, or evidence more conclusive, prove that the Gods take no thought for our happiness, but only for our punishment

4 I think it proper, however, before I commence my purposed work, to pass under review the condition of the capital, the temper of the armies, the attitude of the provinces, and the elements of weakness and strength which existed throughout the whole empire, that so we may become acquainted, not only with the vicissitudes and the issues of events, which are often matters of chance, but also with their relations and their causes Welcome as the death of Nero had been in the first burst of joy, yet it had not only roused various emotions in Rome, among the Senators, the people, or the soldiery of the capital, it had also excited all the legions and their generals, for now had been divulged that secret of the empire, that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome The Senators enjoyed the first exercise of freedom with the less restraint, because the Emperor was new to power, and absent from the capital The leading men of the Equestrian order sympathised most closely with the joy of the Senators The respectable portion of the people, which was connected with the great families, as well as the dependants and freedmen of condemned and banished persons, were high in hope The degraded populace, frequenters of the arena and the theatre, the most worthless of the slaves, and those who having wasted their property were supported by the infamous excesses of Nero, caught eagerly in their dejection at every rumour

5 The soldiery of the capital, who were imbued with the spirit of an old allegiance to the Cæsars, and who had been led to desert Nero by intrigues and influences from without rather than by their own feelings, were inclined for change, when they found that the donative promised in Galba s name was withheld, and reflected that for great services and great rewards there was not the same room in peace as in war, and that the favour of an emperor created by the legions must be already preoccupied They were further excited by the treason of Nymphidius Sabinus, their prefect, who himself aimed at the throne Nymphidius indeed perished in the attempt, but, though

avarice of Galba The strictness once so commended, and celebrated in the praises of the army, was galling to troops who rebelled against the old discipline, and who had been accustomed by fourteen years' service under Nero to love the vices of their emperors, as much as they had once respected their virtues To all this was added Galba's own expression, "I choose my soldiers, I do not buy them," noble words for the commonwealth, but fraught with peril for himself His other acts were not after this pattern

6 Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco, one the most worthless, the other the most spiritless of mankind, were ruining the weak old Emperor, who had to bear the odium of such crimes and the scorn felt for such cowardice Galba's progress had been slow and blood stained Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular rank, were put to death, the former as an accomplice of Nymphidius, the latter as one of Nero's generals Both had perished without hearing or defence, like innocent men His entry into the capital, made after the slaughter of thousands of unarmed soldiers, was most ill-omened, and was terrible even to the executioners As he brought into the city his Spanish legion, while that which Nero had levied from the fleet still remained, Rome was full of strange troops There were also many detachments from Germany, Britain and Illyria, selected by Nero, and sent on by him to the Caspian passes, for service in the expedition which he was preparing against the Albani, but afterwards recalled to crush the insurrection of Vindex Here there were vast materials for a revolution, without indeed a decided bias towards any one man, but ready to a daring hand

fomenting sedition by Trebonius Garutianus

ever some who believed that Capito, though foully stained with avarice and profligacy, had yet abstained from all thought of revolution, that this was a treacherous accusation invented

approved of the deed, either from weakness of character, or to avoid investigation into the cir cumstances of acts which could not be altered Both executions, however, were unfavourably [illegible]

[illegible]

the age of Galba caused ridicule and disgust among those whose associations were with the youth of Nero, and who were accustomed, as is the fashion of the vulgar, to value their em perors by the beauty and grace of their persons

8 Such, as far as one can speak of so vast a multitude, was the state of feeling at Rome Among the provinces, Spain was under the government of Cluvius Rufus, an eloquent man, who had all the accomplishments of civil life, but who was without experience in war Gaul, besides remembering Vindex, was bound to Galba by the recently conceded privileges of citizenship, and by the diminution of its future tribute Those Gallic states, however, which were nearest to the armies of Germany, had not been treated with the same respect, and had even in some cases been deprived of their territory, and these were reckoning the gains of others and their own losses with equal indig nation The armies of Germany were at once alarmed and angry, a most dangerous temper when allied with such strength, while elated [illegible]

[illegible] for Galba, it was doubtful whether he had himself wished to be emperor, but all agreed [illegible]

[illegible]

peror That he was not sent back, and that he was even impeached, they regarded as an accu sation against themselves

9 The army of Upper Germany despised their legate, Hordeonius Flaccus, who, dis abled by age and lameness, had no strength of character and no authority, even when the sol diery were quiet, he could not control them, much more in their fits of frenzy were they irritated by the very feebleness of his restraint [illegible]

[illegible]

*who was censor and three times consul*, this was thought sufficient recommendation In the army of Britain there was no angry feeling indeed no troops behaved more blamelessly throughout all the troubles of these civil wars, either because they were far away and sep arated by the ocean from the rest of the em pire, or because continual warfare had taught them to concentrate their hatred on the enemy Illyricum too was quiet, though the legions drawn from that province by Nero had, while lingering in Italy, sent deputations to Vergin [illegible]

[illegible]

their strength

10 In the East there was as yet no move [illegible]

[illegible]

gance and courtesy, of good and bad qualities His self indulgence was excessive, when he had leisure, yet whenever he had served, he had shown great qualities In his public capacity he might be praised, his private life was in bad repute Yet over subjects, friends, and col leagues, he exercised the influence of many fascinations He was a man who would find it easier to transfer the imperial power to another, than to hold it for himself Flavius Vespasian, [illegible]

[illegible]

success

11 Ever since the time of the Divine Augus-

tus Roman Knights have ruled Egypt as kings, and the forces by which it has to be kept in sub jection It has been thought expedient thus to keep under home control a province so difficult of access, so productive of corn, ever distracted,

a native of the country Africa and its legions, now that Clodius Macer was dead, were disposed to be content with any emperor, after having experienced the rule of a smaller ty rant The two divisions of Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum and Thrace and the other provinces governed by procurators, as they were near this or that army, were driven by the presence of such powerful neighbours into friendship or hostility The unarmed provinces with Italy at their head were exposed to any kind of slav ery, and were ready to become the prize of vic tory Such was the state of the Roman world, when Servius Galba consul for the second time, with T Vinius for his colleague, entered upon a year, which was to be the last of their lives, and which well nigh brought the com monwealth to an end

12 A few days after the 1st of January, there arrived from Belgica despatches of Pompeius Propinquus, the Procurator, to this effect, that the legions of Upper Germany had broken through the obligation of their military oath, and were demanding another emperor, but conceded the power of choice to the Senate and people of Rome, in the hope that a more lenient view might be taken of their revolt These tidings hastened the plans of Galba, who had been long debating the subject of adoption with himself and with his intimate friends There was indeed no more frequent subject of conversation during these months, at first be cause men had liberty and inclination to talk of such matters, afterwards because the feebleness of Galba was notorious Few had any discrimination or patriotism, many had foolish hopes for themselves, and spread interested re ports, in which they named this or that person to whom they might be related as friend or de pendant They were also moved by hatred of T Vinius, who grew daily more powerful, and in the same proportion more unpopular The

less risk and greater gain.

13 The real power of the Empire was divided between T. Vinius, the consul, and Cor nelius Laco, prefect of the Prætorian Guard Icelus, a freedman of Galba, was in equal fa

were divided in the affair of choosing a succes

and Otho, the gossip of those who allow noth ing to pass in silence had named them as father in law and son in law, for Vinius had a widowed daughter, and Otho was unmarried I believe that he had also at heart some care for the commonwealth, in vain, he would think, rescued from Nero, if it was to be left with Otho For Otho's had been a neglected boy hood and a riotous youth, and he had made himself agreeable to Nero by emulating his profligacy For this reason the Emperor had entrusted to him, as being the confidant of his amours, Poppæa Sabina, the imperial favourite, until he could rid himself of his wife Octavia Soon suspecting him with regard to this same Poppæa, he sent him out of the way to the province of Lusitania, ostensibly to be its gov ernor Otho ruled the province with mildness, and, as he was the first to join Galba's party, was not without energy, and, while the war lasted, was the most conspicuous of the Em peror's followers, he was led to cherish more and more passionately every day those hopes of adoption which he had entertained from the first Many of the soldiers favoured him, and the court was biassed in his favour, because he resembled Nero

14 When Galba heard of the mutiny in Ger many, though nothing was as yet known about Vitellius, he felt anxious as to the direction which the violence of the legions might take, while he could not trust even the soldiery of the capital He therefore resorted to what he sup posed to be the only remedy, and held a council for the election of an emperor To this he sum moned, besides Vinius and Laco, Marius Cel sus, consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, pre fect of the city Having first said a few words about his advanced years, he ordered Piso Licinianus to be summoned It is uncertain whether he acted on his own free choice, or, as believed by some, under the influence of Laco,

and Scribonia, and thus of noble descent on both sides, was in look and manner a man of the old type Rightly judged, he seemed a stern man, morose to those who estimated him less favourably This point in his character pleased his adopted father in proportion as it raised the anxious suspicions of others

15 We are told that Galba taking hold of Piso's hand, spoke to this effect If I were a private man, and were now adopting you by the Act of the Curiæ before the Pontiffs, as our custom is, it would be a high honour to me to introduce into my family a descendant of Cn Pompeius and M Crassus, it would be a distinction to you to add to the nobility of your race the honours of the Sulpician and Lutatian houses As it is, I, who have been called to the throne by the unanimous consent of gods and men, am moved by your splendid endowments and by my own patriotism to offer to you, a man of peace, that power, for which our ancestors fought and which I myself obtained by war I am following the precedent of the Divine Augustus, who placed on an eminence next to his own first his nephew Marcellus, then his son in law Agrippa, afterwards his

campaigns but because it was not by any private favour that I myself received the imperial power Let the principle of my choice be shewn

from the passions of youth, and such your life that in the past you have nothing to excuse Hitherto you have only borne adversity, prosperity tries the heart with keener temptations, for hardships may be endured whereas we are spoiled by success You indeed will cling with the same constancy to honour, freedom, friendship, the best possessions of the human spirit, but others will seek to weaken them with their servility You will be fiercely assailed by adulation, by flattery, that worst poison of the true heart, and by the selfish interests of individuals You and I speak together to-day with perfect frankness but others will be more ready to address us as emperors than as men For to urge his duty upon a prince is indeed a hard matter, to flatter him, whatever his character, is a mere routine gone through without any heart

16 'Could the vast frame of this empire have stood and preserved its balance without a

a good successor, your youth no greater than a good emperor Under Tiberius Caius, and Claudius we were, so to speak, the inheritance of a single family The choice which begins with us will be a substitute for freedom Now that the family of the Julii and the Claudii has come to an end adoption will discover the worthiest successor To be begotten and born of a princely race is a mere accident, and is only valued as such In adoption there is nothing that need bias the judgment and if you wish to make a choice, an unanimous opinion points

it was not myself with my single legion, that shook his yoke from our necks It was his own profligacy, his own brutality, and that, though there had been before no precedent of an emperor condemned by his own people We, who have been called to power by the issues of war, and by the deliberate judgment of others, shall incur unpopularity, however illustrious our

praved it is for you and me to take care, that

have to reign over men who cannot bear either absolute slavery or absolute freedom" This, with more to the same effect

Galba, he spoke to Piso as if he were creating an emperor, the others addressed him as if he were an emperor already

17 It is said of Piso that he betrayed no discomposure or excessive joy, either to the gaze to which he was immediately subjected, or afterwards when all eyes were turned upon him His language to the Emperor, his father, was reverential, his language about himself was modest He shewed no change in look or manner, he seemed like one who had the power rather than the wish to rule It was next discussed whether the adoption should be publicly pronounced in front of the Rostra, [illegible]

honourable means Meanwhile the expectant people had surrounded the palace impatient to learn the great secret, and those who sought to stifle the ill-concealed rumour did but spread it the more

18 The 10th of January was a gloomy, stormy day, unusually disturbed by thunder, lightning, and all bad omens from heaven [illegible]

either because he despised such things as being mere matters of chance, or because the decrees of fate, though they be foreshewn, are not [illegible]

Fearing that to conceal the mutiny would be to make them think it greater than it really was, he spontaneously declared that the 4th and 18th legions, led by a few factious persons, had been insubordinate, but had not gone beyond certain words and cries, and that they would soon return to their duty To this speech he added no word of flattery, no hint of a bribe Yet the tribunes, the centurions, and such of the soldiers as stood near, made an encouraging response A gloomy silence prevailed among the rest, who seemed to think that they had lost by war that right to a donative which they had made good even in peace It is certain that their feelings might have been conciliated by the very smallest liberality on the part of the parsimonious old man He was ruined by his old fashioned inflexibility, and by an excessive sternness which we are no longer able to endure

19 Then followed Galba's speech in the Senate, which was as plain and brief as his speech to the soldiery Piso delivered a graceful oration and was supported by the feeling of the Senate Many who wished him well, spoke with enthusiasm, those who had opposed him, in moderate terms, the majority met him with an officious homage, having aims of their own [illegible]

tion and his death As tidings of the mutiny in Germany were arriving with daily increasing frequency, while the country was ready to receive and to credit all intelligence that had an unfavourable character, the Senate came to a resolution to send deputies to the German armies It was privately discussed whether Piso should go with them to give them a more imposing appearance, they, it was said, would bring with them the authority of the Senate, he the majesty of the Cæsar It was thought expedient to send with them Cornelius Laco, prefect of the Prætorian Guard, but he thwarted the design In nominating, excusing, and changing the deputies, the Senate having entrusted the selection to Galba, the Emperor shewed a disgraceful want of firmness, yielding to individuals, who made interest to stay or to go, as their fears or their hopes prompted

20 Next came the question of money On a general inquiry it seemed the fairest course to demand restitution from those who had caused the public poverty Nero had squandered in presents two thousand two hundred million sesterces It was ordered that each recipient should be sued but should be permitted to retain a tenth part of the bounty They had however barely a tenth part left, having wasted the property of others in the same extravagances in which they had squandered their own, till the [illegible]

Roman Knights were appointed to conduct the process of recovery, a novel office, and made burdensome by the number and intriguing practices of those with whom it had to deal [illegible]

two tribunes of the Prætorian Guard, Antonius

Taurus and Antonius Naso, an officer of the City cohorts, Æmilius Pacensis, and one of the [illegible]

pected

21 Otho, meanwhile, who had nothing to hope while the State was tranquil, and whose whole plans depended on revolution, was being roused to action by a combination of many motives, by a luxury that would have embarrassed even an emperor, by a poverty that a subject could hardly endure, by his rage against Galba, by his envy of Piso He even pretended to fear to make himself keener in desire 'I was,' said he, 'too formidable to Nero, and I must not look for another Lusitania, another honourable exile Rulers always suspect and hate the man who has been named for the succession This has injured me with the aged Emperor, and will injure me yet more with a young man whose temper, naturally savage, has been rendered ferocious by prolonged exile How easy to put Otho to death! I must therefore do and dare now while Galba's authority is still unsettled, and before that of Piso is consolidated Periods of transition suit great attempts, and delay is useless where inaction is more hurtful than temerity Death, which nature ordains for all alike, yet admits of the distinction of being either forgotten, or remembered with honour by posterity, and, if the same lot awaits the innocent and the guilty, the man of spirit will at least deserve his fate '

22 The soul of Otho was not effeminate like his person His confidential freedmen and slaves, who enjoyed a license unknown in private families, brought the debaucheries of Nero's court, its intrigues, its easy marriages and the other indulgences of despotic power, before a mind passionately fond of such things, dwelt [illegible]

heavens revolutions, and a year of glory for Otho This is a class of men, whom the powerful cannot trust, and who deceive the aspiring, a class which will always be proscribed in this country, and yet always retained Many of these men were attached to the secret councils of Poppæa and were the vilest tools in the employ of the imperial household One of them, Ptolemæus had attended Otho in Spain, and had there foretold that his patron would survive Nero Gaining credit by the result, and arguing from his own conjectures and from the common talk of those who compared Galba s age with Otho s youth, he had persuaded the latter that he would be called to the throne Otho however received the prediction as the words of wisdom and the intimation of destiny, with that inclination so natural to the human mind readily to believe in the mysterious

23 Nor did Ptolemæus fail to play his part he now even prompted to crime, to which from such wishes it is easy to pass Whether indeed these thoughts of crime were suddenly con [illegible]

insinuations against Galba and anything else that might excite the vulgar mind Laborious marches, a scanty commissariat, and the rigour of military discipline, were especially distasteful, when men, accustomed to sail to the lakes of Campania and the cities of Greece, had painfully to struggle under the weight of their arms over the Pyrenees, the Alps, and vast distances of road

24 The minds of the soldiery were already on fire, when Mævius Pudens, a near relative of Tigellinus, added, so to speak, fuel to the flames In his endeavour to win over all who were particularly weak in character, or who [illegible]

[illegible] ents more privately [illegible]

with his own money the neighbour s entire estate, and made a present of it to the soldier He took advantage of the lazy indifference of the Prefect, who overlooked alike notorious facts and secret practices

25 He then entrusted the conduct of his

meditated treason to Onomastus, one of his freedmen, who brought over to his views Barbius Proculus, officer of the watchword to the bodyguard, and Veturius, a deputy centurion in the same force Having assured himself by various conversations with these men that they were cunning and bold, he loaded them with presents and promises, and furnished them with money with which to tempt the cupidity of others Thus two soldiers from the ranks undertook to transfer the Empire of Rome, and actually transferred it Only a few were admitted to be accomplices in the plot, but they worked by various devices on the wavering minds of the remainder, on the more distinguished soldiers, by hinting that the favours of Nymphidius had subjected them to suspicion, on the vulgar herd, by the anger and despair with which the repeated postponement [illegible] elsewhere

26 The contagion spread to the legions and the auxiliary troops, already excited by the news of the wavering loyalty of the army of Germany So ripe were the disaffected for mutiny and so close the secrecy preserved by the loyal, that they would actually have seized Otho on the 14th of January, as he was returning from dinner, had they not been deterred by the risks of darkness, the inconvenient dispersion of the troops over the whole city, and the difficulty of concerted action among a half intoxicated crowd It was no care for the state, which they deliberately meditated polluting with the blood of their Emperor, it was a fear lest in the darkness of night any one who presented himself to the soldiers of the Pannonian or German army might be fixed on instead of Otho, whom few of them knew Many symptoms of the approaching outburst were repressed by those who were in the secret Some hints, which had reached Galba's ears, were turned into ridicule by Laco the prefect, who knew nothing of the temper of the soldiery, [illegible]

sacrificing in front of the temple of Apollo, the Haruspex Umbricius announced to him that [illegible]

and interpreted it by contraries in a favourable sense, as promising success to his designs Not long after his freedman Onomastus informed him that the architect and the contractors were waiting for him It had been arranged thus to indicate that the soldiers were assembling, and that the preparations of the conspiracy were complete To those who inquired the reason of his departure, Otho pretended that he was purchasing certain farm buildings, which from their age he suspected to be unsound, and which had therefore to be first surveyed Leaning on his freedman's arm, he proceeded through the palace of Tiberius to the Velabrum, and thence to the golden milestone near the temple of Saturn There three and twenty soldiers of the body guard saluted him as Emperor, and, while he trembled at their scanty number, put him hastily into a chair, drew their swords, and hurried him onwards About as many more soldiers joined them on their way, some because they were in the plot, many from mere surprise some shouted and brandished their swords, others proceeded in silence, intending to let the issue determine their sentiments

28 Julius Martialis was the tribune on guard in the camp Appalled by the enormity and suddenness of the crime, or perhaps fearing that the troops were very extensively corrupted and that it would be destruction to oppose them, he made many suspect him of complicity The rest of the tribunes and centurions preferred immediate safety to danger and duty Such was the temper of men's minds, that, while there were few to venture on so atrocious a treason, many wished it done, and all were ready to acquiesce

29 Meanwhile the unconscious Galba, busy with his sacrifice, was importuning the gods of an empire that was now another's A rumour reached him, that some senator unknown was being hurried into the camp, before long it was affirmed that this senator was Otho At the same time came messengers from all parts of the city, where they had chanced to meet [illegible] the danger [illegible]

was to be kept unimpaired to meet greater emergencies They were accordingly collected before the steps of the palace, and Piso addressed them as follows — Comrades, this is

the sixth day since I became a Cæsar by adoption, not knowing what was to happen, whether this title was to be desired, or dreaded It rests with you to determine what will be the result to my family and to the state It is not that I dread on my own account the gloomier issue, for I have known adversity, and I am learning at this very moment that prosperity is fully as dangerous It is the lot of my father, of the Senate, of the Empire itself, that I deplore, if we have either to fall this day, or to do what is equally abhorrent to the good, to put others to death In the late troubles we had this consolation, a capital unstained by bloodshed, and

moderation, for indeed, to count up virtues in comparing oneself with Otho is needless The vices, of which alone he boasts, overthrew the Empire, even when he was but the Emperor's friend Shall he earn that Empire now by his manner and his gait, or by those womanish adornments? They are deceived, on whom luxury imposes by its false show of liberality, he will know how to squander, he will not know how to give Already he is thinking of debaucheries, of revels, of tribes of mistresses These things he holds to be the prizes of princely power, things, in which the wanton enjoyment will be for him alone, the shame and the disgrace for all Never yet has any one exercised for good ends the power obtained by crime The unanimous will of mankind gave to Galba the title of Cæsar, and you consented when he gave it to me Were the Senate, the Country, the People, but empty names, yet, comrades, it is your interest that the most worthless of men should not create an Emperor We have occasionally heard of legions mutinying against their generals, but your loyalty, your character, stand unimpeached up to this time Even with Nero, it was he that deserted you, not you that deserted him Shall less than thirty runaways and deserters whom no one would allow to choose a tribune or centurion for themselves, assign the Empire at their pleasure? Do you tolerate the precedent? Do you by your inaction make the crime your own? This lawless spirit will pass into the provinces, and though we shall suffer from this treason, you will suffer from the wars that will follow Again, no more is offered you for murdering your Prince, than you will have if you shun such guilt We shall give you a donative for your loyalty, as surely as others can give it for your treason "

31 The soldiers of the body guard dispersed, but the rest of the cohort, who shewed no disrespect to the speaker, displayed their standards, acting, as often happens in a disturbance, on mere impulse and without any settled plan, rather than, as was afterwards believed, with treachery and an intention to deceive Celsus Marius was sent to the picked troops from the army of Illyricum, then encamped in the Portico of Vipsanius Instructions were also given to Amulius Serenus and Quintius Sabinus, centurions of the first rank, to bring up the German soldiers from the Hall of Liberty No confidence was placed in the

erus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, all three military tribunes, proceeded to the Prætorian camp, in the hope that a sedition, which was but just commencing, and not yet fully matured, might be swayed by better counsels Two of these tribunes, Subrius and Cetrius, the soldiers assailed with menaces, Longinus they seized and disarmed, it was not his rank as an officer, but his friendship with Galba, that

finding them exhausted by their long return voyage from Alexandria, whither they had been sent on by Nero, had supplied their wants with a most unsparing attention

32 The whole populace and the slaves with them were now crowding the palace, clamouring with discordant shouts for the death of Otho and the destruction of the conspirators, just as if they were demanding some spectacle in the circus or amphitheatre They had not indeed any discrimination or sincerity, for on that same day they would raise with equal zeal

secure the approaches, and not go out

enraged soldiers. "You should," he said, "give the disaffected time to repent, the loyal time to unite. Crimes gain by hasty action, better counsels by delay. At all events, you will still have the same facilities of going out, if need be, whereas, your retreat, should you repent of

of men can gather strength. Otho himself will be alarmed, Otho, who stole away to be introduced to a few strangers, but who now, thanks to the hesitation and inaction in which we waste our time, is learning how to play the Prince. We must not wait till, having arranged matters in the camp, he bursts into the Forum, and under Galba's very eyes makes his way to the Capitol, while our noble Emperor with his brave friends barricades the doors of his palace. We are to stand a siege forsooth, and truly we shall have an admirable resource in the slaves, if the unanimous feeling of this vast multitude, and that which can do so much, the first burst of indignation, be suffered to subside. Moreover that cannot be safe which is not honour-

34. Without further delay Galba sided with these more plausible advisers Piso was sent on into the camp, as being a young man of noble name, whose popularity was of recent date, and who was a bitter enemy to T. Vinius, that is, either he was so in reality, or these angry partisans would have it so, and belief in hatred is but too ready. Piso had hardly gone forth when there came a rumour, at first vague and wanting confirmation, that Otho had been slain in the camp, soon, as happens with these great fictions, men asserted that they had been present, and had seen the deed, and, between the

palace.

35. Upon this not only did the people and the ignorant rabble break out into applause and vehement expressions of zeal, but many of the Knights and Senators, losing their caution as they laid aside their fear, burst open the doors of the palace, rushed in, and displayed themselves to Galba, complaining that their revenge had been snatched from them The most arrant coward, the man, who, as the event proved, would dare nothing in the moment of danger, was the most voluble and fierce of speech No one knew anything, yet all were confident in assertion, till at length Galba in the dearth of all true intelligence, and overborne by the universal delusion, assumed his cuirass, and as, from age and bodily weakness, he could not

body guard, who, displaying a bloody sword, cried "I have slain Otho." "Comrade," replied Galba, "who gave the order?" So singularly resolute was his spirit in curbing the license of the soldiery, threats did not dismay him, nor flatteries seduce

36 There was now no doubt about the feeling of all the troops in the camp So great was their zeal, that, not content with surrounding Otho with their persons in close array, they elevated him to the pedestal, on which a short time before had stood the gilt statue of Galba, and there, amid the standards, encircled him with their colours Neither tribunes nor centurions could approach The common soldiers even insisted that all the officers should be watched. Everything was in an uproar with their tumultuous cries and their appeals to each other, which were not, like those of a popular assembly or a mob, the discordant expressions of an idle flattery, on the contrary, as soon as they caught sight of any of the soldiers who were flocking in, they seized him, gave him the military embrace, placed him close to Otho, dictated to him the oath of allegiance, commending sometimes the Emperor to his soldiers, sometimes the soldiers to their Emperor Otho did not fail to play his part, he stretched out his arms, and bowed to the crowd, [illegible]

acted tl [illegible]

It was [illegible]

had tak [illegible]

spoke as follows.

37. "Comrades, I cannot say in what character I have presented myself to you; I refuse to call myself a subject, now that you have named me Prince, or Prince, while another

reigns Your title also will be equally uncertain, so long as it shall be a question, whether it is the Emperor of the Roman people, or a public enemy, whom you have in your camp Mark you, how in one breath they cry for my punishment and for your execution So evident it is, that we can neither perish, nor be saved, except together Perhaps, with his usual clemency, Galba has already promised that we should die, like the man, who, though no one demanded it, massacred so many thousands of perfectly guiltless soldiers A shudder comes over my soul, whenever I call to mind that ghast

mitted to surrender These were the auspices with which he entered the city What is the glory that he has brought to the throne? None but that he has murdered Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, Betuus Chilo in

stained with blood and foul with crime, or, as he expresses it himself, purified and chastened? For what others call crimes he calls reforms, and, by similar misnomers, he speaks of strictness instead of barbarity, of economy instead of avarice, while the cruelties and affronts inflicted upon you he calls discipline Seven months only have passed since Nero fell, and already Icelus has seized more than the Polycleti, the Vatinii, and the Elii amassed Vinius would not have gone so far with his rapacity and lawlessness had he been Emperor himself, as it is, he has lorded it over us as if we had been his own subjects, has held us as cheap as if we had been another's That one house would furnish the donative, which is never given you, but with which you are daily upbraided

38 "Again, that we might have nothing to hope even from his successor, Galba fetches out of exile the man in whose ill humour and avarice he considers that he has found the best resemblance to himself. You witnessed, comrades, how by a remarkable storm even the Gods discountenanced that ill starred adoption, and the feeling of the Senate, of the people of Rome, is the same It is to your valour that they look, in you these better counsels find all their support, without you, noble as they may be, they are powerless It is not to war or to danger that I invite you, the swords of all Roman soldiers are with us At this moment Galba has but one half-

opened The soldiers immediately seized the

the auxiliary troops No tribune or centurion encouraged them, every man acted on his own impulse and guidance, and the vilest found their

this execution to appease the fury of the soldiers, or believing him to be an accomplice of Otho, or, it may be, out of mere hatred The time and the place however made him hesitate, he knew

play their fidelity and courage

40 Galba was hurried to and fro with every movement of the surging crowd, the halls and temples all around were thronged with spectators of this mournful sight Not a voice was

their aged and defenceless Emperor In all the ... and at the full speed of their

Neither the sight of the Capitol, nor the sanctity of the overhanging temples, nor the thought of rulers past or future, could deter them from committing a crime, which any one succeeding to power must avenge

41 When this armed array was seen to approach, the standard bearer of the cohort that escorted Galba (he is said to have been one Atilius Vergilio) tore off and dashed upon the ground Galba s effigy At this signal the feeling of all the troops declared itself plainly for Otho

... of his litter and fell to the ground,

To those who slew him it mattered not what he said About the actual murderer nothing is clearly known Some have recorded the name of Terentius, an enrolled pensioner, others that of Le... report that one Ca-

and in their savage ferocity inflicted many wounds even on the headless trunk

42 They next fell on T Vinius, and in his case also it is not known whether the fear of in... had his utterance or whether he

that he was an accomplice in the crime ... he certainly caused He fell in front of the temple ... the first blow, ... e, im... onary, ... on that ... Densus

... hand to meet the

thus gave Piso, wounded as he was, an opportunity of escape Piso made his way to the temple of Vesta, where he was admitted by the compassion of one of the public slaves, who concealed him in his chamber There, not indeed through the sanctity of the place or its worship, but through the obscurity of his hiding place, he obtained a respite from instant destruction, till there came, by Otho's direction and specially ... of the Bri...

one of the body guard Piso was dragged out by these men and slaughtered in the entrance of the temple

... death of which

about among the standards of the cohorts, close to the eagle of the legion, while those who had struck the blow, those who had been present, those who whether truly or falsely boasted of the act, as of some great and memorable achievement, vied in displaying their bloodstained hands Vitellius afterwards found more than 120 memorials from persons who claimed a reward for some notable service on that day All these persons he ordered to be sought out and ... with ... ovide ... *or the future*

45 One would have thought it a different Senate, a different people All rushed to the camp, outran those who were close to them, and struggled with those who were before, inveighed against Galba praised the wisdom of the sol...

and look They demanded

consul elect, Galba's faithful friend to the very last moment, should be led to execution, loathing his energy and integrity as if they were vices It was evident that they were seeking to begin massacre and plunder, and the proscription of all the most virtuous citizens, and Otho had not yet sufficient authority to prevent crime, though he could command it He feigned anger, and ordered him to be loaded with chains declaring that he was to suffer more signal punishment, and thus he rescued him from immediate destruction

46 Every thing was then ordered according to the will of the soldiery The Prætorians chose their own prefects One was Plotius Firmus, who had once been in the ranks, had afterwards commanded the watch, and who, while Galba was yet alive, had embraced the cause of Otho With him was associated Licinius Proculus,

thus adopting Nero's choice, in whose reign he had held the same office, though many in choosing him had an eye to his brother Vespasian A demand was then made, that the fees for furloughs usually paid to the centurions should be abolished These the common soldiers paid as a kind of annual tribute A fourth part of every company might be scattered on furlough, or even loiter about the camp, provided that they paid the fees to the centurions No one cared about the amount of the tax, or the way in

cruel usage till he bought his furlough His means exhausted by this outlay, and his energies utterly relaxed by idleness, the once rich and vigorous soldier returned to his company

affections of the centurions by an act of bounty to the ranks, promised that his own purse should pay these annual sums It was undoubtedly a salutary reform, and was afterwards under good emperors established as a permanent rule of the service Laco prefect of the city, who had been ostensibly banished to an island, was assassinated by an enrolled pensioner, sent on by Otho to do the deed Martianus Icelus, being but a freedman, was publicly executed

47 A day spent in crime found its last horror in the rejoicings that concluded it The Prætor of the city summoned the Senate, the rest of the Magistrates vied with each other in their flatteries The Senators hastily assembled and conferred by decree upon Otho the tribunitial office, the name of Augustus and every imperial honour All strove to extinguish the remembrance of those taunts and invectives, which had been thrown out at random, and which no one sup-

borne in a litter over heaps of dead to the Capitol, and thence to the palace He suffered the bodies to be given up for burial and to be burnt For Piso, the last rites were performed by his wife Verania and his brother Scribonianus, for Vinius, by his daughter Crispina, their heads having been discovered and purchased from the murderers, who had reserved them for sale

48 Piso, who was then completing his thirty first year, had enjoyed more fame than good

self in his first campaign when he served under

with having participated in her guilt, and by

ing a legion with general satisfaction, but he subsequently incurred the degrading imputation of having pilfered a gold cup at the table of Claudius who the next day directed that he alone should be served on earthenware Yet as proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis he administered the government with strict integrity When forced by his friendship with

gerous elevation he shewed

and enterprising, and

powers to vice or virtue, was always equally energetic His will was made void by his vast wealth, that of Piso owed its validity to his poverty

49 The body of Galba lay for a long time neglected, and subjected, through the license which

mangled, was found only the next day in front of the tomb of Patrobius, a freedman of Nero's, whom Galba had executed It was put with the body, which had by that time been reduced to ashes Such was the end of Servius Galba, who in his seventy three years had lived prosperously through the reigns of five Emperors and had been more fortunate under the rule of others than he was in his own His family could boast an ancient nobility, his wealth was great His

his own he was parsimonious, with that of the State avaricious To his freedmen and friends he shewed a forbearance, which, when he had fallen into worthy hands, could not be blamed, when, however, these persons were worthless, he was even culpably blind The nobility of his birth and the perils of the times made what was really indolence pass for wisdom While in the vigour of life, he enjoyed a high military reputation in Germany as proconsul he ruled Africa with moderation, and when advanced in years shewed the same integrity in Eastern Spain He seemed greater than a subject while he was yet in a subject's rank, and by common consent would have been pronounced equal to empire, had he never been emperor

50 The alarm of the capital which trembled to see the atrocity of these recent crimes, and to to think of the old character of Otho, was heightened into terror by fresh news about Vitellius, news which had been suppressed before the murder of Galba, in order to make it appear that only the army of Upper Germany had revolted That two men, who for shamelessness,

open complaint, not only of the Senate and the Knights, who had some stake and interest in the country, but even of the common people It was no longer to the late horrors of a dreadful

peace, but to the recollections of the civil wars, that men recurred, speaking of how the capital had been taken by Roman armies, how Italy had

side down when the struggle for empire was between worthy competitors, yet the Empire continued to exist after the victories of Caius Julius and Cæsar Augustus the Republic would have continued to exist under Pompey and Brutus And is it for Otho or for Vitellius that we are now to repair to the temples? Prayers for either would be impious, vows for either a blasphemy, when from their conflict you can only learn that the conqueror must be the worse of the two' Some were speculating on Vespasian and the armies of the East Vespasian was indeed preferable to either, yet they shuddered at the idea of another war, of other massacres Even about Vespasian there were doubtful rumours, and he, unlike any of his predecessors, was changed for the better by power

51 *I will now describe the origin and occasion* of the revolt of Vitellius After the destruction of Julius Vindex and his whole force, the army,

the rigours of military discipline rendered at once unprofitable and severe But that discipline, inexorable as it is in times of peace, is relaxed by civil strife, when on both sides are found the agents of corruption, and treachery goes unpunished They had men, arms and horses, more than enough for all purposes of utility and show, but before the war they had been acquainted only with the companies and squadrons of their own force, as the various armies were separated from each other by the limits of their respective provinces But the legions, having been concentrated to act against Vindex, and

Nor did that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine fail to espouse the same cause, and to shew the bitterest hostility in inflaming the army against the Galbianists, that being the name,

which in their contempt for Vindex they had given to the party The rage first excited against the Sequani and Ædui extended to other states in proportion to their wealth, and they revelled [illegible]

ple, who in a spirit of insult to the army boasted of how they had been relieved by Galba from a fourth part of their tribute, and had received grants from the State There was also a report, ingeniously spread and recklessly believed, to the effect that the legions were being decimated, and all the most energetic centurions dismissed [illegible]

Nero, gave rise to a multitude of rumours But it was in the army itself, in its hatreds, its fears, and even in the security with which a review of its own strength inspired it, that there was the most abundant material for the exercise of imagination and credulity

52 Just before December 1 in the preceding year, Aulus Vitellius had visited Lower Germany, and had carefully inspected the winter quarters of the legions Many had their rank restored to them, sentences of degradation were cancelled, and marks of disgrace partially removed In most cases he did but court popularity, in some he exercised a sound discretion making a salutary change from the meanness and rapacity which Fonteius Capito had shown in bestowing and withdrawing promotion But he seemed a greater personage than a simple consular legate, and all his acts were invested with an unusual importance Though sterner judges pronounced Vitellius to be a man of low tastes, those who were partial to him attributed to geniality and good nature the immoderate and indiscriminate prodigality, with which he gave away what was his own and squandered what did not belong to him Besides this, men themselves eager for power were ready to represent his very vices as virtues As there were in both armies many of obedient and quiet habits, so there were many who were as unprincipled as they were energetic but distinguished above all for boundless ambition and singular daring were the legates of the legions, Fabius Valens and Alienus Cæcina One of these men, Valens, had taken offence against Galba, under the notion that he had not shewn proper gratitude for his services in discovering to him the hesitation of Verginius and crushing the plans of Capito He now began to urge Vitellius to action He [illegible]

auxiliaries will follow your standard All the provinces waver in their allegiance The Empire is held on the precarious tenure of an aged life, and must shortly pass into other hands You have only to open your arms, and to meet the advances of fortune It was well for Verginius to hesitate, the scion of a mere Equestrian family, and son of a father unknown to fame he would have been unequal to empire, had he accepted it, and yet been safe though he refused it But from the honours of a father who was thrice consul, was censor and colleague of Cæsar, Vitellius has long since derived an imperial rank, while he has lost the security that belongs to a subject'

53 These arguments roused the indolent temper of the man, yet roused him rather to wish than to hope for the throne Meanwhile however in Upper Germany Cæcina young and handsome, of commanding stature, and of boundless ambition, had attracted the favour of the soldiery by his skilful oratory and his dignified mien This man had when quæstor in Bætica, attached himself with zeal to the party of Galba, who had appointed him, young as he was, to the command *of a legion, but, it being* [illegible]

ly offended, determined to throw everything [illegible]

by the armies of Lower Ger[illegible] the Treveri, the Lingones and the other states which Galba had most seriously injured by his severe edicts and by the confiscation of their territory, were particularly close to the winter [illegible] Thence arose seditious [illegible]

clasped together, an emblem of friendship Their envoys, who had assumed a studied appearance of misery and distress, passed through the headquarters and the men s tents, and complaining now of their own wrongs, now of the rewards bestowed on the neighbouring states, and, when they found the soldiers' ears open to their words, of the perils and insults to which the army itself was exposed, inflamed the passions of the troops The legions were on the verge of mutiny, when Hordeonius Flaccus ordered the envoys to depart, and to make their departure more secret, directed them to leave the camp by night Hence arose a frightful rumour, many asserting that the envoys had been killed, and that, unless the soldiers provided for their own safety, the next thing would be, that the most energetic of their number, and those who had complained of their present condition, would be slaughtered under cover of night, when the rest of the army would know nothing of their fate The legions then bound themselves by a secret agreement Into this the auxiliary troops were admitted At first objects of suspicion, from the idea that their infantry and cavalry were being concentrated in preparation for an attack on the legions, these troops soon became especially zealous in the scheme The bad [illegible]

[illegible] Lower Germany took the oath of fidelity annually administered on the first of January It was done, however, after long delay, and then only by a few voices from the foremost ranks, while the rest preserved an absolute silence, every one waiting for some bold demonstration from his neighbour, in obedience to that innate tendency of men which makes them quick to follow where they are slow to lead And even in the various legions there was a difference of feeling The soldiers of the 1st and of the 5th were so mutinous, that some of them threw stones at [illegible]

[illegible] 4th legion being foremost, the 18th shewing [illegible]

[illegible] oath with the now obsolete names of the Senate and people of Rome Not a single legate or tribune exerted himself for Galba, some, as is usual in a tumult, were even conspicuously active in mutiny, though no one delivered anything like a formal harangue or spoke from a tribunal Indeed there was as yet no one to be obliged by such services

56 Hordeonius Flaccus, the consular legate, was present and witnessed this outrage, but he dared neither check the furious mutineers, nor keep the wavering to their duty, nor encourage the well affected Indolent and timid, he was preserved from guilt only by his sloth Four Centurions of the 18th legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, striving to protect the images of Galba, were swept away by a rush of the soldiers and put in irons After this no one retained any sense of duty, any recollection of his late allegiance, but, as usually happens in mutinies, the side of the majority became the side of all In the course of the night of the 1st of January, the standard bearer of the 4th legion, coming to the Colonia Agrippinensis, announced to Vitellius, who was then at dinner, the news that the 4th and 18th legions had thrown down the images of Galba, and had sworn allegiance to the Senate and people of Rome Such a form of oath appeared meaningless It was determined to seize the doubtful fortune of the hour, and to offer an Emperor to their choice Vitellius sent envoys to the legions and their legates, who were to say that the army of Upper Germany had revolted from Galba, that it was consequently necessary for them, either to make war on the revolters, or if they preferred peace and harmony, to create an Emperor, and who were to suggest, that it would be less perilous to accept than to look for a chief

57 The nearest winter-quarters were those of [illegible]

[illegible] prodigious zeal, and the army of Upper Germany abandoned the specious names of the Senate and people of Rome, and on the 3rd of January declared for Vitellius One could be sure [illegible]

[illegible] the Lingones, shewed as much zeal as the army, making offers of personal service, of horses, of

arms and of money, according as each felt himself able to assist the cause by his own exertions, by his wealth, or by his talents Nor was this done only by the leading men in the colonies or the camps, who had abundant means at hand, and might indulge great expectations in the event of victory, but whole companies down to the very ranks offered instead of money their rations, their belts, and the bosses, which, richly decorated with silver, adorned their arms, so strong were the promptings from without, their own enthusiasm, and even the suggestions of avarice

58 Vitellius, after bestowing high commendation on the zeal of the soldiers, proceeded to distribute among Roman Knights the offices of the Imperial court usually held by freedmen He paid the furlough fees to the centurions out of the Imperial treasury While in most instances he acquiesced in the fury of the soldiers, who clamoured for numerous executions, in some few he eluded it under the pretence of imprisoning the accused Pompeius Propinquus, procurator of Belgica, was immediately put to death. Julius Burdo, prefect of the German fleet, he contrived to withdraw from the scene of danger The resentment of the army had been inflamed against this officer by the belief, that it was he who had invented the charges and planned the treachery which had destroyed Capito The memory of Capito was held in high favour, and with that enraged soldiery it was possible to slaughter in open day, but to pardon only by stealth He was kept in prison, and only set at liberty after the victory of Vitellius when the resentment of the soldiery had subsided Meanwhile, by way of a victim, the centurion Crispinus was given up to them, this man had actually imbued his hands in the blood of Capito. Consequently he was to those who cried for vengeance a more notorious criminal, and to him who punished a cheaper sacrifice

59. Julius Civilis a man of commanding influence among the Batavi, was next rescued from like circumstances of peril, lest that high-spirited nation should be alienated by his execution There were indeed in the territory of the Lingones eight Batavian cohorts, which formed the auxiliary force of the 14th legion, but which had among the many dissensions of the time, withdrawn from it, a body of troops which, to whatever side they might incline, would, whether as allies or enemies, throw a vast weight into the scale Vitellius ordered the centurions Nonnius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, of whom I have before spoken, to be executed They had been convicted of the crime of fidelity, among rebels the worst of crimes New adherents soon declared themselves in Valerius Asiaticus, legate of the Province of Belgica, whom Vitellius soon after made his son in law, and Junius Blæsus, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, who brought with him the Italian Legion and the Taurine Horse, which was stationed at Lugdunum The armies of Rhætia made no delay in at once joining Vitellius, and even in Britain there was no hesitation

60 Of that province Trebellius Maximus was governor, a man whose sordid avarice made him an object of contempt and hatred to the army His unpopularity was heightened by the efforts of Roscius Cælius the legate of the 20th legion who had long been on bad terms with him and who now seized the opportunity of a civil war to break out into greater violence Trebellius charged him with mutinous designs and with disturbing the regularity of military discipline Cælius retorted on Trebellius the accusation of having plundered and impoverished the legions Meanwhile all obedience in the army was destroyed by these disgraceful quarrels between its commanders, and the feud rose to such a height that Trebellius was insulted even by the auxiliaries and finding himself altogether isolated as the infantry and cavalry sided with Cælius, he fled for safety to Vitellius Yet the province still enjoyed tranquility though its consular governor had been driven from it It was now ruled by the legates of the legions, who were equal as to lawful authority, though the audacity of Cælius made him the more powerful

61 After the army of Britain had joined him, Vitellius who had now a prodigious force and vast resources, determined that there should be two generals and two lines of march for the contemplated war Fabius Valens was ordered to win over, if possible, or, if they refused his overtures to ravage the provinces of Gaul and to invade Italy by way of the Cottian Alps Cæcina to take the nearer route, and to march down from the Penine range To Valens were entrusted the picked troops of the army of Lower Germany with the eagle of the 5th legion and the auxiliary infantry and cavalry, to the number of 40,000 armed men Cæcina commanded 30,000 from Upper Germany, the strength of his force being one legion the 21st Both had also some German auxiliaries, and from this source Vitellius, who was to follow with his whole military strength completed his own forces

62 Wonderful was the contrast between the

army and the Emperor. The army was all eagerness, they cried out war, while Gaul yet wavered, and Spain hesitated "The winter," they said, "the delays of a cowardly inaction must not stop us We must invade Italy, we must seize the capital, in civil strife, where action is more needed than deliberation, nothing is safer than haste" Vitellius, on the contrary, was sunk in sloth, and anticipated the enjoyment of supreme power in indolent luxury and prodigal festivities By midday he was half intoxicated, and heavy with food, yet the ardour and vigour of the soldiers themselves discharged all the duties of a general as well as if the Emperor had been present to stimulate the energetic by hope and the indo- [illegible]

[illegible] cept, even after his victory It was observed as a happy omen for Fabius Valens and the forces which he was conducting to the campaign, that on the very day on which they set out an eagle moved with a gentle flight before the army as it advanced, as if to guide it on its way And for a long distance so loudly did the soldiers shout in their joy, so calm and unterrified was the bird, that it was taken as no doubtful omen [illegible]

[illegible] though they had been received with the most courteous hospitality, a sudden panic mastered them In a moment they took up arms to massacre an innocent people, not for the sake of plunder, or fired by the lust of spoil, but in a wild frenzy arising from causes so vague that it was very difficult to apply a remedy Soothed at length by the entreaties of their general, they refrained from utterly destroying the town, yet as many as four thousand human beings were slaughtered Such an alarm was spread through Gaul, that as the army advanced, whole states, headed by their magistrates and with prayers on their lips, came forth to meet it, while the women and children lay prostrate along the roads, and all else that might appease an enemy's fury was offered, though war there was none, to secure the boon of peace

64 Valens received the tidings of the murder of Galba and the accession of Otho while he was in the country of the Leuci. The feelings of the soldiers were not seriously affected either with joy or alarm, they were intent on war. Gaul however ceased to hesitate, Otho and Vitellius it hated equally, Vitellius it also feared. The next territory was that of the Lingones, who were loyal to Vitellius. The troops were kindly received, and they vied with each other in good behaviour. This happy state of things, [illegible]

[illegible] one or another of the parties was almost kindled into a battle, and would have been so, had not Valens by punishing a few, reminded the Batavi of the authority which they had now forgotten. Against the Ædui a pretext for war was sought in vain That people, when ordered to furnish arms and money, voluntarily added a supply of provisions What the Ædui did from fear, the people of Lugdunum did with delight Yet the Italian legion and the Taurine Horse were withdrawn It was resolved that the 18th cohort should be left there, as it was their usual winter-quarters Manlius Valens, legate of the Italian legion, though he had served the party well, was held in no honour by Vitellius Fabius [illegible]

[illegible] treachery.

65 The old feud between Lugdunum and Vienna had been kindled afresh by the late war. [illegible]

[illegible] diverting into the Imperial treasury the revenues of Lugdunum, while he had treated Vienna with marked respect Thence came rivalry and dislike, and the two states, separated [illegible]

[illegible] gions for Galba After parading these pretexts for quarrel, they pointed out how vast would [illegible]

[illegible] emies; we are a Roman colony, a part of the Roman army, sharers in your successes and re-

verses Fortune may declare against us Do not abandon us to an angry foe."

66 By these and many similar arguments they so wrought upon the troops, that even the legates and the leaders of the party did not think it possible to check their fury, but the people of Vienna, aware of their danger, assumed the veils and chaplets of suppliants, and as the army approached clasped the weapons, knees and feet of the soldiers, and so turned them from their purpose Valens also made each soldier a present of 300 sesterces After that the antiquity and rank of the colony prevailed, and the intercession of Valens, who charged them to respect the life and welfare of the inhabitants, received a favourable hearing They were however publicly mulcted of their arms, and furnished the soldiers with all kinds of supplies from their private means Report, however, has uniformly asserted, that Valens himself was bought with a vast sum Poor for many years and suddenly growing rich, he could but ill conceal the change in his fortunes, indulging without moderation the appetites which a protracted poverty had inflamed, and, after a youth of indigence, becoming prodigal in old age The army then proceeded by slow marches through the territory of the Allobroges and Vocontii, the very length of each day's march and the changes of encampment being made a matter of traffic by the general, who concluded disgraceful bargains to the injury of the holders of land and the magistrates of the different states, and used such menaces, that at Lucus a municipal town of the Vocontii, he was on the point of setting fire to the place, when a present of money soothed his rage When money was not forthcoming he was bought off by sacrifices to his lust Thus he made his way to the Alps

67 Cæcina revelled more freely in plunder and bloodshed His restless spirit had been provoked by the Helvetii, a Gallic race famous once for its warlike population, afterwards for the associations of its name Of the murder of Galba they knew nothing and they rejected the authority of Vitellius The war originated in the rapacity and impatience of the 21st legion, who had seized some money sent to pay the garrison of a fortress, which the Helvetii had long held with their own troops and at their own expense The Helvetii in their indignation intercepted some letters written in the name of the army of Germany, which were on their way to the legions of Pannonia, and detained the centurion and some of his soldiers in custody Cæcina, eager for war, hastened to punish every delinquency, as it occurred, before the offender could repent Suddenly moving his camp he ravaged a place, which during a long period of peace had grown up into something like a town and which was much resorted to as an agreeable watering place Despatches were sent to the Rhætian auxiliaries, instructing them to attack the Helvetii in the rear while the legion was engaging them in front

68 Bold before the danger came and timid in the moment of peril the Helvetii though at the commencement of the movement they had chosen Claudius Severus for their leader knew not how to use their arms, to keep their ranks, or to act in concert A pitched battle with veteran troops would be destruction, a siege would be perilous with fortifications old and ruinous On the one side was Cæcina at the head of a powerful army, on the other were the auxiliary infantry and cavalry of Rhætia and the youth of that province, inured to arms and exercised in habits of warfare All around were slaughter and devastation Wandering to and fro between the two armies, the Helvetii threw aside their arms, and with a large proportion of wounded and stragglers fled for refuge to Mount Vocetius They were immediately dislodged by the attack of some Thracian infantry Closely pursued by the Germans and Rhætians they were cut down in their forests and even in their hiding places Thousands were put to the sword, thousands more were sold into slavery Every place having been completely destroyed, the army was marching in regular order on Aventicum, the capital town when a deputation was sent to surrender the city This surrender was accepted Julius Alpinus, one of the principal men, was executed by Cæcina as having been the promoter of the war All the rest he left to the mercy or severity of Vitellius

69 It is hard to say whether the envoys from Helvetia found the Emperor or his army less merciful "Exterminate the race was the cry of the soldiers as they brandished their weapons, or shook their fists in the faces of the envoys Even Vitellius himself did not refrain from threatening words and gestures till at length Claudius Cossus one of the Helvetian envoys, a man of well known eloquence but who then concealed the art of the orator under an assumption of alarm and was therefore more effective soothed the rage of the soldiers who, like all multitudes, were liable to sudden impulses, and were now as inclined to pity as they had been extravagant in fury Bursting into tears and praying with increasing earnes

milder sentence, they procured pardon and protection for the state

70 Cæcina while halting for a few days in the Helvetian territory, till he could learn the decision of Vitellius, and at the same time making preparations for the passage of the Alps, received from Italy the good news, that Silius' Horse, which was quartered in the neighbourhood of Padus, had sworn allegiance to Vitellius They had served under him when he was Proconsul in Africa, from which place Nero had soon afterwards brought them, intending to send them on before himself into Egypt, but had recalled them in consequence of the rebellion of Vindex They were still in Italy, and now at the instigation of their decurions, who knew nothing of Otho, but were bound to Vitellius, and who magnified the strength of the advancing legions and the fame of the German army, they joined the Vitellianists, and by way of a present to their new Prince they secured for him the strongest towns of the country north of the Padus, Mediolanum, Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercellæ This Cæcina had learnt from themselves Aware that the widest part of Italy could not be held by such a force as a single squadron of cavalry, he sent on in advance the auxiliary infantry from Gaul, Lusitania, and Rhætia, with the veteran troops from Germany, and Petra's Horse, while he made a brief halt to consider whether he should pass over the Rhætian range into Noricum, to attack Petronius, the procurator, who had collected some auxiliaries, and broken down the bridges over the rivers, and was thought to be faithful to Otho Fearing however that he might lose the infantry and cavalry which he had sent on in advance, and at the same time reflecting that more honour was to be gained by holding possession of Italy, and that, wherever the decisive conflict might take place, Noricum would be included among the other prizes of victory, he marched the reserves and the heavy infantry through the Penine passes while the Alps were still covered with the snows of winter

71. Meanwhile Otho, to the surprise of all, [illegible]

a reputation for clemency by sparing a distinguished man opposed to his own party. Celsus pleaded guilty to the charge of faithful adherence to Galba, and even made a merit of such an example of fidelity Otho did not treat him as a man to be pardoned, and, unwilling to [illegible]

fatality, as it seemed, Celsus maintained also to Otho a fidelity as irreproachable as it was unfortunate The escape of Celsus gratified the leading men in the State, was generally praised by the people, and did not displease even the soldiers, who could not but admire the virtue which provoked their anger

72 Then followed as great a burst of joy, [illegible]

watch and of the Prætorian Guard, and to other distinctions due to merit, went on to practise cruelty, rapacity, and all the crimes of maturer years He perverted Nero to every kind of atrocity, he even ventured on some acts without the Emperor's knowledge, and ended by deserting and betraying him Hence there was no criminal, whose doom was from opposite motives more importunately demanded, as well by those who hated Nero, as by those who regretted him During the reign of Galba Tigellinus had been screened by the influence of Vinius, who alleged that he had saved his daughter. And doubtless he had preserved her life, not indeed out of [illegible]

caring not to be free from guilt, but only to ensure their turn in impunity. This enraged the people more than ever, the recent unpopularity of Vinius being superadded to their old hatred against Tigellinus They rushed from every part of the city into the palace and forum, and [illegible]

and caresses of his mistresses and other unseemly delays, cut his throat with a razor, and aggravated the disgrace of an infamous

life by a tardy and ignominious death.

73 About the same time a demand was made for the execution of Galvia Crispinilla Various artifices on the part of the Emperor, who incurred much obloquy by his duplicity, rescued her from the danger She had instructed Nero in profligacy, had passed over into Africa, that she might urge Macer into rebellion, and had openly attempted to bring a famine upon Rome Yet she afterwards gained universal popularity on the strength of her alliance with a man of consular rank, and lived unharmed through the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius Soon she became powerful as a rich and childless woman, circumstances which have as great weight in good as in evil times

74 Meanwhile frequent letters, disfigured by unmanly flatteries, were addressed by Otho to Vitellius, with offers of wealth and favour and any retreat he might select for a life of prodigal indulgence Vitellius made similar overtures Their tone was at first pacific, and both exhibited a foolish and undignified hypocrisy Then they seemed to quarrel, charging each other with debaucheries and the grossest crimes and both spoke truth Otho, having recalled the envoys whom Galba had sent, dispatched others, nominally from the Senate, to both the armies of Germany, to the Italian legion, and to the troops quartered at Lugdunum The envoys remained with Vitellius too readily to let it be supposed that they were detained. Some Prætorians, whom Otho had attached to the embassy, ostensibly as a mark of distinction, were sent back before they could mix with the legions Letters were also addressed by Fabius Valens in the name of the German army to the Prætorian and city cohorts, extolling the strength of his party, and offering terms of peace Valens even reproached them with having transferred the Imperial power to Otho, though it had so long before been entrusted to Vitellius

75. Thus they were assailed by promises as well as by threats, were told that they were not strong enough for war, but would lose nothing by peace Yet all this did not shake the loyalty of the Prætorians Nevertheless secret emissaries were dispatched by Otho to Germany, and by Vitellius to Rome Both failed in their object Those of Vitellius escaped without injury, unnoticed in the vast multitude, knowing none, and themselves unknown Those of Otho were betrayed by their strange faces in a place where all knew each other Vitellius wrote to Titianus, Otho's brother, threatening him and his son with death, unless the lives of his mother and his children were spared Both families remained uninjured This in Otho's reign was perhaps due to fear, Vitellius was victorious, and gained all the credit of mercy

76 The first encouraging tidings came to Otho from Illyricum He heard that the legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia had sworn allegiance to him Similar intelligence was received from Spain, and Cluvius Rufus was commended in an edict Immediately afterwards it became known that Spain had gone over to Vitellius Even Aquitania bound though it was by the oath of allegiance to Otho which Julius Cordus had administered, did not long remain firm Nowhere was there any loyalty or affection, men changed from one side to the other under the pressure of fear or necessity It was this influence of fear that drew over to Vitellius the province of Gallia Narbonensis, which turned readily to the side that was at once the nearer and the stronger The distant provinces, and all the armies beyond the sea, still adhered to Otho, not from any attachment to his party, but because there was vast weight in the name of the capital and the prestige of the Senate, and also because the claims which they had first heard had prepossessed their minds The army of Judæa under Vespasian, and the legions of Syria under Mucianus, swore allegiance to Otho Egypt and the Eastern provinces were also governed in his name Africa displayed the same obedience, Carthage taking the lead In that city Crescens, one of Nero s freedmen (for in evil times even this class makes itself a power in the State), without waiting for the sanction of the proconsul, Vipstanus Apronianus, had given an entertainment to the populace by way of rejoicings for the new reign and the people, with extravagant zeal, hastened to make the usual demonstrations of joy The example of Carthage was followed by the other cities of Africa

77 As the armies and provinces were thus divided, Vitellius, in order to secure the sovereign power, was compelled to fight Otho continued to discharge his imperial duties as though it were a time of profound peace Sometimes he consulted the dignity of the Commonwealth, but often in hasty acts, dictated by the expediency of the moment, he disregarded its honour He was himself to be consul with his brother Titianus till the 1st of March, the two following months he assigned to Verginius as a compliment to the army of Germany With Verginius was to be associated Pompeius Vopiscus, avowedly on the ground of their being old friends, though many regarded the appointment as

meant to do honour to the people of Vienna The other consulships still remained as Nero or Galba had arranged them Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to be consuls till the 1st of July, Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus from that time to the 1st of September Even Vitellius, after his victory, did not inter

gurships, while he consoled the young nobles, who had lately returned from exile, by reviving the sacerdotal offices, held by their fathers and ancestors Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæsus, Sævinius Pomptinius, who in the reigns of Claudius and Nero had been convicted under indictments for extortion were restored to their rank as Senators Those who wished to pardon them re

laws a dead letter

78 By similar bounty Otho sought to win the affections of the cities and provinces He bestowed on the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita some additional families, on the entire people

ures, which may find an excuse in the urgency of the crisis and the anxieties which pressed upon him, he still did not forget his old amours, and by a decree of the Senate restored the statues of Poppæa It is even believed that *he thought of celebrating the memory of Nero* in the hope of winning the populace, and persons were found to exhibit statues of that Prince There were days on which the people and the soldiers greeted him with shouts of Nero Otho, as if they were heaping on him new distinction and honour Otho himself wavered in suspense, afraid to forbid or ashamed to acknowledge the title

79 Men's minds were so intent on the civil war, that foreign affairs were disregarded This emboldened the Roxolani a Sarmatian tribe, who had destroyed two cohorts in the previous winter, to invade Mœsia with great hopes of success They had 9000 cavalry, flushed with victory and intent on plunder rather than on fight

tered, and in their eagerness for plunder had encumbered themselves with heavy baggage, while the superior speed of their horses was lost on the slippery roads Thus they were cut down as if their hands were tied It is wonderful how entirely the courage of this people is, so to speak, external to themselves No troops could shew so little spirit when fighting on foot, when they

tinual slipping of their horses, and the weight of their coats of mail, they could make no use of their pikes or their swords, which being of an excessive length they wield with both hands These coats are worn as defensive armour by the princes and most distinguished persons of the tribe They are formed of plates of iron or very tough hides, and though they are absolutely impenetrable to blows, yet they make it difficult for such as have been overthrown by the charge of the enemy to regain their feet Besides, the Sarmatians were perpetually sinking in the deep and soft snow The Roman soldier, moving easily in his cuirass, continued to harass them with javelins and lances, and whenever the occasion required, closed with them with his short sword, and stabbed the defenceless enemy, for it is not their custom to defend themselves with a shield A few who survived the battle concealed themselves in the marshes There they perished from the inclemency of the season and the severity of their wounds When this success was known, Marcus Aponius, governor of Mœsia, was rewarded with a triumphal statue, while Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and *Numisius Lupus, the legates of the legions,* received the ensigns of consular rank Otho was delighted, and claimed the glory for himself, as if it were he that commanded success in war, and that had aggrandised the State by his generals and his armies

80 Meanwhile, from a trifling cause, whence nothing was apprehended, there arose a tumult, which had nearly proved fatal to the capital Otho had ordered the 17th cohort to be brought up to Rome from Ostia, and the charge of arming it was entrusted to Varius Crispinus one of the tribunes of the Prætorian Guard This officer, thinking that he could carry out the order more at his leisure, when the camp was quiet, opened the armoury, and ordered the wagons of the cohort to be laden at night fall The time provoked suspicion, the motive challenged accusation, the elaborate attempt at quiet ended in a disturbance, and the sight of arms *among*

a drunken crowd excited the desire to use them The soldiers murmured, and charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, alleging

the mass was as usual ready for any new movement, and the military obedience of the better disposed was neutralised by the darkness The tribune, who sought to check the movement, and the strictest disciplinarians among the centurions were cut down The soldiers seized their arms bared their swords, and, mounted on their horses, made for the city and the palace

81 Otho was giving a crowded entertainment to the most distinguished men and women of Rome In their alarm they doubted whether this was a casual outbreak of the soldiers, or an act of treachery in the Emperor, and whether to remain and be arrested was a more perilous alternative than to disperse and fly At one time mak

uspect, Otho felt as much alarm as he inspired Terrified no less by the Senate's critical position than by his own, he had forthwith despatched the prefects of the Prætorian Guard to allay the

friends and domestics, aged men and women wandered in the darkness of night about the var

ed by the doors of the palace They burst in upon the banquet with loud demands that Otho should shew himself They wounded the tribune, Julius Martialis and the prefect, Vitellius Saturninus, who sought to stem the torrent On every side they brandished their swords, and menaced the centurions and tribunes at one moment, the whole Senate at another Their minds were maddened by a blind panic, and, unable to single out any one object for their fury, they sought for indiscriminate vengeance At last Otho, regardless of his imperial dignity, stood up on a couch, and by dint of prayers and tears contrived to restrain them Reluctant and guilty, they returned to the camp The next day the houses were closed as they might be in a captured city Few of the citizens could be seen in the streets, the populace were dejected, the soldiers walked with downcast looks, and seemed gloomy rather than penitent Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, the prefects, addressed the companies in the gentler or harsher terms that suited their respective characters The end of these harangues was that 5000 sesterces were paid to each soldier Then did Otho venture to enter the camp, the tribunes and centurions surrounded him They had thrown aside the insignia of their rank and they demanded release from the toils and perils of service The soldiers felt the reproach returning to their duty, they even demanded the execution of the ringleaders in the riot

83 Otho was aware how disturbed was the

the great mass delighted in riot and in an empire resting on popularity, and could be most

love me, or that I may rouse your courage, love and courage you have in superfluous abundance. I am come to pray you to put some restraint on your valour, some check on your affection for

sults We are now starting to

the nature of things, does the rapid flight of opportunities, admit of all intelligence being pub-

the dead of night? Shall one or two worthless and drunken fellows, for I cannot believe that more were carried away by the frenzy of the late outbreak, imbrue their hands in the blood of centurions and tribunes, and burst into the tent of their Emperor?

84 "You indeed did this to serve me, but in the tumult, the darkness, and the general confusion, an opportunity may well occur that may be used against me If Vitellius and his satellites were allowed to choose, what would be the temper and what the thoughts with which they would curse us? What would they wish for us but mutiny and strife, that the private should not obey the centurion, nor the centurion the tribune, that thus we should rush, horse and foot together, on our own destruction? Comrades, it is by obeying, not by questioning the orders of commanders, that military power is kept together And that army is the most courageous in the moment of peril, which is the most orderly before the peril comes Keep you your arms and your courage, leave it to me to plan, and to guide your valour A few were in fault, two will be punished Let all the rest blot out the remembrance of that night of infamy Never let any army hear those cries against the Senate To clamour for the destruction of what is the head of the Empire, and contains all that is [illegible] an order, by whose splendid distinctions we throw into the shade the mean and obscure faction of Vitellius? Vitellius is the master of a few tribes, and has some semblance of an army We have the Senate The country is with us, with them, the country's enemies What! do you im[illegible]tion of empire, the peace of nations, my safety and yours, rest on the security of the Senate This order which was instituted under due aus[illegible] give the state its Senators, and the Senate gives it its Princes"

85 This speech, which was meant to touch and to calm the feelings of the soldiers, and the moderate amount of severity exercised (for Otho had ordered two and no more to be punished), met with a grateful acceptance, and for the moment reduced to order men who could not be coerced Yet tranquillity was not restored to the capital, there was still the din of arms and all the sights of war, and the soldiers, though they made no concerted disturbance, had dispersed themselves in disguise about private houses and exercised a malignant surveillance over all whom exalted rank, or distinction of any kind, exposed to injurious reports Many too believed that some of the soldiers of Vitellius had come to the capital to learn the feelings of the different parties Hence everything was rife with suspicion, and even the privacy of the family was hardly exempt from fear It was however in public that most alarm was felt, with every piece of intelligence that rumour brought, [illegible]nxious [illegible]ourable [illegible] When the Senate was summoned to the Chamber, it was hard for them to maintain in all things a safe moderation Silence might seem contumacious, and frankness might provoke suspicion, and Otho, who had lately been a subject, and had used the same language, was familiar with flattery Accordingly, they discussed various motions on which they had put many constructions Vitellius they called a public enemy and a traitor to his country, the more prudent contenting themselves with hackneyed terms of abuse though some threw out reproaches founded in truth, yet only did so in the midst of clamour, and when many voices were heard at once, drowning their own speech in a tumult of words

86 Prodigies which were now noised abroad from various sources increased men's terror It was said that in the porch of the Capitol the reins of the chariot on which stood the goddess of Victory, had dropped from her hand, that from the chapel of Juno there had rushed forth a form greater than the form of man, that the statue of the Divine Julius, which stands on the island in the Tiber, had turned from the West to the East on a calm and tranquil day, that an ox had spoken aloud in Etruria, that strange births of animals had taken place, besides many [illegible]

bridge, was checked by the heap of ruins across the current, and overflowed not only the low and level districts of the capital, but also much that had been thought safe from such casualties Many were swept away in the streets, many more were cut off in their shops and chambers. The want of employment and the scarcity of [illegible]

when the river returned to its channel When [illegible]

structed by causes either fortuitous or natural, was regarded as a prodigy and an omen of impending disasters

[illegible]

able service for the future To the fleet he had added some city cohorts, and many of the Prætorians, the stay and strength of his army, who might at once advise and watch the generals The command of the expedition was entrusted to Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, centurions of the first rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored the rank of tribune, taken from him by Galba Oscus, a freedman, retained the charge of the fleet, and went to watch the fidelity of men more honourable than himself Suetonius Paullinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus, were appointed to command the infantry and cavalry The Emperor, however, placed most confidence in Licinius Proculus, prefect of the Prætorian Guard, an active officer at home, without experience in [illegible]

fact, on each man's special excellence, a thing most easy to do, and thus the unscrupulous and the cunning were preferred before the modest and the good

[illegible]

for any crime that he suffered, he was marked out for suspicion by his ancient name and by his relationship to Galba Many of the officers of state and a large proportion of the men of consular rank Otho ordered to accompany him to the field, not indeed to share or serve in the campaign, but to form a retinue Among them was Lucius Vitellius, whom Otho treated as he [illegible]

longed peace, the nobility were indolent and had forgotten how to fight, the Equestrian order knew nothing of service, and the more they endeavoured to hide and repress their alarm the more evident was their terror On the other [illegible]

who were thoughtless of the future were inflated with idle hopes Many whose credit had been shaken in the years of peace regained their spirits amidst the confusions of the time, and found their best safety in revolution

89 The mob and the people generally, whose vast numbers cut them off from all interest in the state, began by degrees to feel the evils of [illegible] had been divert- [illegible]

equally distressed the [illegible] the insurrection of Vindex, the capital was safe, and the war was in the provinces, and, fought as it was between the legions and Gaul, it seemed but a foreign campaign Indeed from the time that the Divine Augustus consolidated the power of the Cæsars, the wars of the Roman people [illegible] remote places and had caused anx- [illegible]

not been restored to their place He spurned all delay, as having been Nero's fatal mistake, and the fact that Cæcina had now crossed the Alps urged him to action

90 On the 14th of March, after commending the State to the care of the Senate, he presented to those who had been recalled from exile what was left of the Neronian confiscations, or had not yet been paid into the Imperial treasury, a most equitable and apparently most splendid piece of liberality, but practically worthless, as the property had been hastily realized long be fore Soon afterwards he summoned an assem bly, and enlarged on the dignity of the capital and the unanimity of the Senate and people in his favour Of the party of Vitellius he spoke

was either his own, or was due to the writer of the speech, who, fearing for himself, abstained from invectives against Vitellius For Otho was believed to avail himself of the abilities of Gale rius Trachalus in civil matters, just as he em ployed those of Celsus and Paullinus in war

rous diction The acclamations and cries which habitual flattery prompted in the people were

fear or affection, but from the mere love of servi tude, as it might be in some private household, each had his own motives, and the public hon our now went for nothing Otho set out, leaving the peace of the city and the cares of empire in the charge of his brother Salvius Titianus

## BOOK II, *March–August*, A D 69

1 In a distant part of the world fortune was now preparing the origin and rise of a new dy nasty, whose varied destinies brought happi ness or misery on the State, prosperity or de struction on the Princes of its line Titus Ves pasian had been sent from Judæa by his father while Galba still lived, and alleged as a reason for his journey the homage due to the Emperor, and his age, which now qualified him to com pete for office But the vulgar, ever eager to in vent, had spread the report that he was sent for to be adopted The advanced years and child less condition of the Emperor furnished matter

the most exalted fortune, from the mingled beau ty and majesty of his countenance, from the prosperous fortunes of Vespasian, from the pro phetic responses of oracles, and even from ac cidental occurrences which, in the general dis position to belief, were accepted as omens At Corinth, the capital of Achaia, he received posi tive information of the death of Galba, and found men who spoke confidently of the revolt of Vitellius and of the fact of war In the anxiety of his mind, he sent for a few of his friends, and carefully surveyed his position from both points of view He considered that if he should proceed to Rome, he should get no thanks for a civility intended for another, while his person would be a hostage in the hands either of Vitellius or of Otho that should he turn back, the conquer or would certainly be offended, but with the

of war would have to forget such causes of of fence

2 These and like thoughts made him waver between hope and fear, but hope triumphed Some supposed that he retraced his steps for love of Queen Berenice, nor was his young heart averse to her charms, but this affection occa sioned no hindrance to action He passed it is true, a youth enlivened by pleasure, and prac tised more self restraint in his own than in his father's reign So, after coasting Achaia and Asia, leaving the land on his left, he made for the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and then by a bolder course for Syria Here he conceived a desire to visit and inspect the temple of the

3 The founder of the temple, according to old tradition, was king Aerias, though some represent this as the name of the goddess her self. Later accounts tell us that the temple was

consecrated by Cinyras, and that the goddess herself after her birth from the sea was wafted to this spot, but that the wisdom and craft of the diviners was a foreign importation introduced by Tamiras of Cilicia, and that it was agreed that the descendants of both families should preside over the worship Afterwards, that the royal family might not be without some superiority over the foreign stock, the strangers relinquished the craft which they had themselves introduced The priest of the line of Cinyras is alone consulted The victims are such as each worshipper has vowed, but males are selected the surest prognostics are seen in the entrails of kids It is forbidden to pour blood on the altar, the place of sacrifice is served only with prayers and pure flame, and though it stands in the open air, it is never wet with rain The image of the goddess does not bear the human shape, it is a rounded mass rising like a cone from a broad base to a small circumference The meaning of this is doubtful

4 Titus, after surveying the treasures the royal presents, and the other objects which the antiquarian tendencies of the Greek arbitrarily connect with some uncertain past, first consulted the oracle about his voyage Receiving an answer that the way was open and the sea propitious, he then, after sacrificing a number of victims, asked some questions in ambiguous phrase concerning himself Sostratus (that was the name of the priest) seeing that the entrails presented an uniformly favourable appearance, and that the goddess signified her favour to some great enterprise, returned at the moment a brief and ordinary answer, but afterwards soliciting a private interview, disclosed the future His spirits raised, Titus rejoined his father, and was received as a mighty pledge of success by the wavering minds of the provincials and the troops Vespasian had all but completed the Jewish war, and only the siege of Jerusalem now remained an operation, the difficulty and arduousness of which was due, rather to the character of its mountain citadel and the perverse obstinacy of the national superstition than to any sufficient means of enduring extremities left to the besieged As we have mentioned above, Vespasian himself had three legions inured to war Mucianus had four under his command in his peaceful province Emulation, however, and the glory won by the neighbouring army had banished all tendency to sloth, and unbroken rest and exemption from the hardships of war had given them a vigour equivalent to the hardihood which the others had gained by their perils and their toils Each had auxiliary forces of infantry and cavalry, each had fleets and tributary kings, and each, though their renown was of a different kind had a celebrated name

5 Vespasian was an energetic soldier he could march at the head of his army, choose the place for his camp and bring by night and day his skill, or, if the occasion required his personal courage to oppose the foe His food was such as chance offered his dress and appearance hardly distinguished him from the common soldier, in short but for his avarice he was equal to the generals of old Mucianus, on the contrary, was eminent for his magnificence for his wealth, and for a greatness that transcended in all respects the condition of a subject, readier of speech than the other, he thoroughly understood the arrangement and direction of civil business It would have been a rare combination of princely qualities, if with their respective faults removed, their virtues only could have been united in one man Mucianus was governor of Syria, Vespasian of Judæa In the administration of these neighbouring provinces jealousy had produced discord between them, but on Nero s fall they had dropped their animosities and associated their counsels At first they communicated through friends till Titus, who was the great bond of union between them, by representing their common interests had terminated their mischievous feud He was indeed a man formed both by nature and by education to attract even such a character as that of Mucianus The tribunes the centurions and the common soldiers were brought over to the cause by appeals to their energy or their love of license to their virtues or to their vices, according to their different dispositions

6 Long before the arrival of Titus, both armies had taken the oath of allegiance to Otho The news had come, as is usual, with great speed, while there was much to delay the gigantic undertaking of a civil war, for which the East after a long period of repose was then for the first time preparing In former times the mightiest civil conflicts had been begun in Gaul or Italy with the resources of the West Pompey, Brutus, Cassius and Antony, all of whom had been followed across the sea by civil war, had met with a disastrous end and the Emperors had been oftener heard of than seen in Syria and Judæa There had been no mutiny among the legions, nothing indeed but some demonstrations against the Parthians, attended with various success In the last civil war, though other provinces had been disturbed, peace had

been here unshaken. Then had followed a loyal adherence to Galba But when it became notorious that Otho and Vitellius, opposed in impious strife, were ready to make a spoil of the Empire, the thought that others would engross the rewards of power, while they would have nothing left for themselves but a compulsory submission, made the soldiers murmur and take a survey of their own strength There were close at hand seven legions, there were Syria and Judæa, with a vast number of auxiliaries Then, without any interval of separation, there was Egypt and its two legions, and on the other side Cappadocia, Pontus, and all the garrisons along the frontier of Armenia There was Asia Minor, there were the other provinces, not without a military population, and well furnished with money There were all the islands of the Mediterranean And there was the sea itself, which during the interval of preparation for war would be both a convenience and a protection

7 The ardour of the troops was not unknown

generals grow insolent in prosperity these men are quarrelsome, indolent, and profligate, and their own faults will make war fatal to the one, and success to the other. They therefore postponed the war until a more fitting opportunity, and though Vespasian and Mucianus had but lately resolved on concerted action, the others had done so long before The worthiest among them were moved by patriotism; many were wrought upon by the attractions of plunder, some by their private embarrassments And so,

were terrified by a false report that Nero was at hand Various rumours were current about his death; and so there were many who pretended and believed that he was still alive The adventures and enterprises of the other pretenders I shall *relate in the regular course of my work. The pretender in this case was a slave from*

blance in the face, gave a very deceptive plausibility to his pretensions. After attaching to himself some deserters, needy vagrants whom he bribed with great offers, he put to sea Driven by stress of weather to the island of Cythnus, he induced certain soldiers, who were on their way from the East, to join him, and ordered others, who refused, to be executed He also robbed the traders and armed all the most able bodied of the slaves. The centurion Sisenna, who was the bearer of the clasped right hands, the usual emblems of friendship, from the armies of Syria to the Prætorians, was assailed by him with various artifices, till he left the island secretly, and, fearing actual violence, made his escape with all haste. Thence the alarm spread far and wide, and many roused themselves at the well known name, eager for change, and detesting the present state of things The report was daily gaining credit when an accident put an end to it.

9 Galba had entrusted the government of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas Two triremes from the fleet of Misenum were given him to pursue the adventurer with these he reached the island of Cythnus Persons were found to summon the captains in the name of

and that they would return when the minds of all had been prepared Everything, however, was faithfully reported to Asprenas, and at his bidding the ship was boarded and taken, and the man, whoever he was, killed The body, in which the eyes, the hair, and the savage countenance, were remarkable features, was conveyed to Asia, and thence to Rome

10 In a state that was distracted by strife, and

tinction, rather than among men of worth, demanded that Annius Faustus, of the Equestrian order, who in the days of Nero had

influential or helpless Besides the terror of the law, Crispus had exerted his own power to the

utmost to destroy the man who had informed against his brother He had prevailed upon a great part of the Senate to demand that he should be consigned to destruction, undefended and unheard But, on the other hand, there were some with whom nothing helped the accused person so much as the excessive power of the accuser They gave it as their opinion, that time ought to be allowed, that the charges ought to be specified, that, odious and guilty as the man might be, he yet ought to be heard, as precedent required At first they carried their point, and the trial was postponed for a few days, but before long Faustus was condemned, but by no means with that unanimity on the part of the people which his detestable character had deserved Men remembered that Crispus had followed the same profession with profit, nor was it the penalty but the prosecutor that they disliked

11 Meanwhile the campaign had opened favourably for Otho, at whose bidding the armies of Dalmatia and Pannonia had begun to move These comprised four legions, from each of which two thousand troops were sent on in advance The 7th had been raised by Galba, the 11th, 13th, and 14th were veteran soldiers, the 14th having particularly distinguished itself by quelling the revolt in Britain Nero had added to their reputation by selecting them as his most effective troops This had made them long faithful to Nero, and kindled their zeal for Otho But their self-confidence induced a tardiness of movement proportionate to their strength and solidity The auxiliary infantry and cavalry moved in advance of the main body of the legions The capital itself contributed no contemptible force, namely five Prætorian cohorts, some troops of cavalry, and the first legion, and together with these, 2000 gladiators, a disreputable kind of auxiliaries, but employed throughout the civil wars even by strict disciplinarians Annius Gallus was put at the head of this force, and was sent on with Vestricius Spurinna to occupy the banks of the Padus, the original plan of the campaign having fallen to the ground, now that Cæcina, who they had hoped might have been kept within the limits of Gaul, had crossed the Alps Otho himself was accompanied by some picked men of the body guard, with whom were the rest of the Prætorian cohorts, the veteran troops from the Prætorian camp, and a vast number of the levies raised from the fleet No indolence or riot disgraced his march He wore a cuirass of iron, and was to be seen in front of the standards, on foot, rough and negligent in dress, and utterly unlike what common report had pictured him

12 Fortune seemed to smile on his efforts Through his fleets which commanded the sea, he held the greater part of Italy, even as far as where the chain of the Maritime Alps begins. The task of attempting the passage of this chain, and of advancing into the Provincia Narbonensis, he had entrusted to three generals, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacensis Pacensis, however, was put in irons by his insubordinate troops, Antonius possessed no kind of authority, and Clemens commanded only for popularity, and was as reckless in transgressing the good order of military discipline as he was eager to fight One would not have thought that it was Italy, the fields, and the habitations of their native country, that they were passing through They burnt, spoiled, and plundered, as if they were among the lands of the foreigner and the cities of a hostile people, and all with the more frightful effect as nowhere had there been made any provision against the danger The fields were full of rural wealth the houses stood with open doors and the owners as with their wives and children they came forth to meet the army, found themselves surrounded, in the midst of the security of peace, with all the horrors of war Marius Maturus was then governing as procurator the province of the Maritime Alps Raising the population, in which is no lack of able bodied men he resolved to drive back the Othonianists from the borders of his province, but the mountaineers were cut down and broken by the first charge, as might be expected of men who had been hastily collected, who were not familiar with camps or with regular command, who saw no glory in victory, no infamy in flight

13 Exasperated by this conflict, the troops of Otho vented their rage on the town of Albintemilium In the field indeed they had secured no plunder, their rustic adversaries were poor, and their arms worthless, nor could they be taken prisoners, for they were swift of foot, and knew the country well. But the rapacity of the troops glutted itself in the ruin of an innocent population The horror of these acts was aggravated by a noble display of fortitude in a Ligurian woman, she had concealed her son, and when the soldiers, who believed that some money had been hidden with him, questioned her with torture as to where she was hiding him, she pointed to her bosom, and replied, "It is here that he is concealed", nor could any subsequent threats or even death itself make her

falter in this courageous and noble answer.

14 Messengers now came in haste and alarm to inform Fabius Valens, how Otho's fleet was threatening the province of Gallia Narbonensis, which had sworn allegiance to Vitellius Envoys from the colonies were already on the spot praying for aid He despatched two cohorts of Tungrian infantry, four squadrons of horse, and all the cavalry of the Treviri under the command of Julius Classicus Part of these troops were retained for the defence of the colony of Forum Julii, for it was feared, that if the whole army were sent by the route through the interior, the enemy's fleet might make a rapid movement on the unprotected coast Twelve squadrons of cavalry and some picked infantry [illegible]

[illegible] Pannonians, not yet regularly enrolled. The conflict commenced without delay, the enemy's line of battle being so arranged, that part of the levies from the fleet, who had a number of rustics among their ranks, were posted on the slope of the hills which border on the coast, the Prætorians fully occupying the level ground between the hills and the shore, while on the sea was the fleet, moored to the land and ready for action, drawn up in line so as to present a formidable front. The Vitellianists whose infantry was inferior, but who were strong in cavalry, stationed the mountaineers on the neighbouring heights, and their infantry in close ranks behind the cavalry. The squadrons of the Treveri charged the enemy incautiously, and found themselves encountered in front by the veteran troops, while on the flanks they were also annoyed by showers of stones from the rustic band, who were skilful throwers, and who, mixed up as they were among the regular soldiers, whether cowardly or brave, were all equally bold in the moment of victory. The general consternation of the Vitellianists was increased by a new alarm as the fleet attacked the rear of the combatants By this movement they were hemmed in on all sides, and the whole force would have perished, had not the shades of night checked the advance of the victorious army, and covered the retreat of the vanquished.

15. The Vitellianists, however, though beaten, did not remain inactive. They brought up reinforcements and attacked the enemy, who felt themselves secure, and whose vigilance was relaxed by success The sentinels were cut down, the camp stormed, and the panic reached the ships, till, as the alarm gradually subsided, they [illegible]

[illegible] however, did not achieve a bloodless victory, as the enemy's cavalry wheeled round, and cut off some who had imprudently prolonged the pursuit. And then, as if a sort of armistice had been concluded to provide against any sudden panic that the cavalry of the one party or the fleet of the other might cause, the Vitellianists retreated to Antipolis, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonianists to Albigaunum, in Upper Liguria.

16 Corsica, Sardinia, and the other islands of the neighbouring seas, were retained in the interests of Otho by the fame of these naval successes *Corsica, however, all but suffered fatal* injury from the rash proceedings of Decumus Pacarius, the procurator, proceedings which in so gigantic a war could contribute nothing to the general result, and which only brought destruction upon their author. In his hatred of Otho he resolved to support Vitellius with the whole strength of Corsica, an insignificant assistance even had the design succeeded He collected the chief men of the island, and explained his plans Claudius Pyrrhicus, captain of the Liburnian ships stationed in the place, and Quintius Certus, a Roman knight, who ventured to offer opposition, he ordered to execution All who were present were terrified at their death, and, with the ignorant populace, which ever blindly shares in the fears of others, took the oath of allegiance to Vitellius. But when Pacarius began to enlist troops, and to weary with military duties an undisciplined population, disgusted with the unusual toil, they began to reflect upon their own weakness "The country which we inhabit," they said to themselves, "is an island Germany and its [illegible]

[illegible] change, they did not, however, resort to open violence, but chose an opportunity for a treacherous attack. When the persons who usually [illegible]

[illegible] perpetrators of the deed carried the heads of the slain to Otho, as being the heads of public enemies, but, lost among the crowd of greater

criminals, in the vast confusion of events, they were neither rewarded by Otho nor punished by Vitellius

17 Silius' Horse had now, as I have already related, opened the way into Italy, and transferred the war across the borders No one entertained any attachment to Otho, yet it was not because they preferred Vitellius long years of peace had subdued them to any kind of servitude, had made them ready to submit to the first comer and careless

for by this time the infantry sent on in advance

and Ticinum Elated by these successes the

tavia and the Transrhenane provinces. Crossing the stream by a sudden movement, they advanced on Placentia, and seizing some reconnoiterers so terrified the rest, that, deceived by their alarm, they announced that the whole army of Cæcina was at hand

18 Spurinna, who now held Placentia, was sure that Cæcina had not yet arrived, and that, even were he approaching, he ought to keep his men within their fortifications, and not confront a veteran army with three Prætorian cohorts, a thousand veterans, and a handful of cavalry But the undisciplined and inexperienced soldiery seized their standards and colours, and rushed to the attack, brandishing their weapons in the face of their general when he sought to restrain them, and spurning from them the tribunes and centurions, and even crying out that Otho was betrayed and that Cæcina had come by invitation Spurinna associated himself with the rash movement which others had originated,

tinous spirit abate.

19 When the Padus was in sight and night began to fall they judged it expedient to entrench a camp. The labour, new as it was to the soldiery of the capital, broke their spirits All

round their scanty forces By this time more temperate language was heard throughout the

in height It was not only of the implements of

fied with their courage

20 Cæcina, who seemed to have left his cruel-

Othonianists at a conference in which he held out hopes of reward, and he was himself as-

21. The first day, however, was spent in a furious onset rather than in the skilful approaches of a veteran army. Exposed and reckless, the troops came close under the walls, stupefied by excess in food and wine. In this

struggle the amphitheatre, a most beautiful building, situated outside the walls, was burnt to the ground, possibly set on fire by the assailants, while they showered brands, fireballs, and ignited missiles, on the besieged, possibly by the besieged themselves, while they discharged incessant volleys in return The populace of the town, always inclined to be suspicious, believed that combustibles had been purposely introduced into the building by certain persons from the neighbouring colonies, who viewed it with envious and jealous eyes, because there was not in Italy another building so capacious What ever the cause of the accident, it was thought of but little moment as long as more terrible disasters were apprehended, but as soon as they again felt secure, they lamented it as though they could not have endured a heavier calamity In the end Cæcina was repulsed with great *slaughter among his troops, and the night was* spent in the preparation of siege works The Vitellianists constructed mantlets, hurdles, and sheds, for undermining the walls and screening the assailants, the Othonianists busied themselves in preparing stakes and huge masses of stone and of lead and brass, with which to break and overwhelm the hostile ranks The shame of failure, the hope of renown, wrought on both armies, both were appealed to by different arguments, on the one side they extolled the strength of the legions and of the army of Germany, on the other, the distinctions of the soldiery of the capital and the Prætorian cohorts, the one reviled their foes as slothful and indolent soldiers, demoralized by the circus and the theatres, the others retorted with the names of foreigner and barbarian At the same time they lauded or vituperated Otho and Vitellius, but found indeed a more fruitful source of mutual provocation in invective than in praise

22 Almost before dawn of day the walls were crowded with combatants, and the plains glittered with masses of armed men The close array of the legions, and the skirmishing parties of auxiliaries assailed with showers of arrows and stones the loftier parts of the walls, attacking them at close quarters, where they were undefended, or old and decayed The Othonianists, who could take a more deliberate and certain aim, poured down their javelins on the German cohorts as they recklessly advanced to the attack with fierce war-cries, brandishing their shields above their shoulders after the manner of their country, and leaving their bodies unprotected The soldiers of the legions, working under cover of mantlets and hurdles, undermined the walls, threw up earth works, and endeavoured to burst open the gates The Prætorians opposed them by rolling down with a tremendous crash ponderous masses of rock, placed for the purpose Beneath these many of the assailants were buried, and many, as the slaughter increased with the confusion, and the attack from the walls became fiercer, retreated wounded, fainting, and mangled, with serious damage to the prestige of the party Cæcina, ashamed of the assault on which he had so rashly ventured, and unwilling, ridiculed and baffled as he was, to remain in the same position, again crossed the Padus, and resolved on marching to Cremona As he was going, Turullius Cerialis with a great number of the levies from the fleet, and Julius Briganticus with a few troopers, gave themselves up to him Julius commanded a squadron of horse, he was a *Batavian Turullius was a centurion of the* first rank, not unfriendly to Cæcina, as he had commanded a company in Germany

23 Spurinna, on discovering the enemy's route, informed Annius Gallus by letter of the successful defence of Placentia, of what had happened, and of what Cæcina intended to do. Gallus was then bringing up the first legion to the relief of Placentia, he hardly dared trust so few cohorts, fearing that they could not sustain a prolonged siege or the formidable attack of the German army On hearing that Cæcina had been repulsed, and was making his way to Cremona, though the legion could hardly be restrained, and in its eagerness for action, even went to the length of open mutiny, he halted at Bedriacum This is a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and has now acquired an ill-omened celebrity by two great days of disaster to Rome About the same time Martius Macer fought a successful battle not far from Cremona Martius, who was a man of energy, conveyed his gladiators in boats across the Padus, and suddenly threw them upon the opposite bank The Vitellianist auxiliaries on the spot were routed, those who made a stand were cut to pieces, the rest directing their flight to Cremona But the impetuosity of the victors was checked, for it was feared that the enemy might be strengthened by reinforcements, and change the fortune of the day This policy excited the suspicions of the Othonianists, who put a sinister construction on all the acts of their generals Vying with each other in an insolence of language proportioned to their cowardice of heart, they assailed with various accusations Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paullinus,

and Marius Celsus The murderers of Galba were the most ardent promoters of mutiny and discord Frenzied with fear and guilt, they

the good, irresolute in prosperity, but rising higher under reverses, was in perpetual alarm The end of it was that he sent for his brother Titianus, and intrusted him with the direction of the campaign

24 Meanwhile, brilliant successes were gained under the command of Celsus and Paullinus Cæcina was greatly annoyed by the fruitless ness of all his undertakings, and by the waning reputation of his army He had been repulsed from Placentia, his auxiliaries had been recent ly cut up, and even when the skirmishers had met in a series of actions, frequent indeed, but

tre in that general, he made a hasty attempt to retrieve his credit, but with more impetuosity than prudence Twelve miles from Cremona (at a place called the Castors) he posted some of the bravest of his auxiliaries, concealed in the woods that there overhang the road The cavalry were ordered to move forward, and, after provoking a battle, voluntarily to retreat, and draw on the enemy in hasty pursuit, till the ambuscade could make a simultaneous attack The scheme was betrayed to the Othonianist generals and Paullinus assumed the command of the infantry, Celsus of the cavalry The vet

cavalry Besides these a thousand cavalry, be longing to the Prætorian guard and to the aux iliaries, were brought up to complete a victory or to retrieve a repulse

25 Before the hostile lines engaged, the Vi tellianists began to retreat, but Celsus, aware of the stratagem, kept his men back The Vitel lianists rashly left their position, and seeing Celsus gradually give way, followed too far in pursuit, and themselves fell into an ambuscade The auxiliaries assailed them on either flank, the legions were opposed to them in front, and the cavalry, by a sudden movement, had sur rounded their rear Suetonius Paullinus did not

at once give the infantry the signal to engage He was a man naturally tardy in action, and one who preferred a cautious and scientific plan of operations to any success which was the result of accident He ordered the trenches to be filled

lianists time to retreat into some vineyards, which were obstructed by the interlacing layers of the vines, and close to which was a small wood From this place they again ventured to emerge slaughtering the foremost of the Præ torian cavalry King Epiphanes was wounded, while he was zealously cheering on the troops for Otho

26 Then the Othonianist infantry charged The enemy s line was completely crushed, and the reinforcements who were coming up to

it increased the general confusion, because the

out in the camp because the whole army was not led into action Julius Gratus, prefect of

thing and on the same grounds to that brother Julius Fronto, a tribune In fact such was the panic everywhere, among the fugitives and

proved the general s policy, but it was unfa vourably canvassed by the army at large

27 *The effect of this disaster on the Vitel lianists was not so much to drive them to fear*

The forces also of Fabius Valens, who had

reached Ticinum, laid aside their contempt for the enemy, and anxious to retrieve their credit began to yield a more respectful and uniform obedience to their general A serious mutiny, however, had raged among them, of which, as it was not convenient to interrupt the orderly narrative of Cæcina's operations, I shall take up the history at an earlier period I have already described how the Batavian cohorts who separated from the 14th legion during the Neronian war, hearing on their way to Britain of the rising of Vitellius, joined Fabius Valens in the country of the Lingones They behaved themselves insolently, boasting, as they visited the quarters of the several legions, that they had mastered the men of the 14th, that they had taken Italy from Nero, that the whole destiny of the war lay in their hands Such language was insulting to the soldiers, and offensive to the general The discipline of the army was relaxed by the brawls and quarrels which ensued At last Valens began to suspect that insolence would end in actual treachery

28 When, therefore, intelligence reached him that the cavalry of the Treveri and the Tungrian infantry had been defeated by Otho's fleet, and that Gallia Narbonensis was blockaded, anxious at once to protect a friendly population, and, like a skilful soldier, to separate cohorts so turbulent and, while they remained united, so inconveniently strong, he directed a detachment of the Batavians to proceed to the relief of the province This having been heard and become generally known, the allies were discontented and the legions murmured "We are being deprived," they said, "of the help of our bravest men Those veteran troops victorious in so many campaigns, now that the enemy is in sight, are withdrawn, so to speak, from the very field of battle If indeed a province be of more importance than the capital and the safety of the Empire, let us all follow them thither, but if the reality, the support, the main stay of success, centre in Italy, you must not tear, as it were, from a body its very strongest limbs"

29 In the midst of these fierce exclamations, Valens, sending his lictors into the crowd, attempted to quell the mutiny On this they attacked the general himself, hurled stones at him, and, when he fled, pursued him. Crying out that he was concealing the spoil of Gaul, the gold of the men of Vienna, the hire of their own toils, they ransacked his baggage, and probed with javelins and lances the walls of the general's tent and the very ground beneath Valens, disguised in the garb of a slave, found concealment with a subaltern officer of cavalry After this, Alfenus Varus, prefect of the camp, seeing that the mutiny was gradually subsiding, promoted the reaction by the following device He forbade the centurions to visit the sentinels, and discontinued the trumpet calls by which the troops are summoned to their usual military duties Thereupon all stood paralysed, and gazed at each other in amazement, panic stricken by the very fact that there was no one to direct them By their silence, by their submission, finally by their tears and entreaties, they craved forgiveness But when Valens, thus unexpectedly preserved, came forward in sad plight, shedding tears, they were moved to joy, to pity, even to affection Their revulsion to delight was just that of a mob, always extreme in either emotion They greeted him with praises and congratulations, and surrounding him with the eagles and standards, carried him to the tribunal With a politic prudence he refrained from demanding capital punishment in any case, yet, fearing that he might lay himself more open to suspicion by concealment of his feelings, he censured a few persons, well aware that in civil wars the soldiers have more license than the generals

30 While they were fortifying a camp at Ticinum, the news of Cæcina's defeat reached them, and the mutiny nearly broke out afresh from an impression that underhand dealing and delay on the part of Valens had kept them away from the battle They refused all rest, they would not wait for their general, they advanced in front of the standards, and hurried on the standard bearers After a rapid march they joined Cæcina The character of Valens did not stand well with Cæcina's army They complained that, though so much weaker in numbers, they had been exposed to the whole force of the enemy, thus at once excusing themselves, and extolling, in the implied flattery, the strength of the new arrivals, who might, they feared, despise them as beaten and spiritless soldiers Though Valens had the stronger army, nearly double the number of legions and auxiliaries, yet the partialities of the soldiers inclined to Cæcina, not only from the geniality of heart, which he was thought more ready to display, but even from his vigorous age, his commanding person, and a certain superficial attractiveness which he possessed The result was a jealousy between the two generals Cæcina ridiculed his colleague as a man of foul and infamous character, Valens retorted with charges

of emptiness and vanity But concealing their enmity, they devoted themselves to their common interest, and in frequent letters, without any thought of pardon, heaped all manner of charges upon Otho, while the Othonianist generals, though they had the most abundant materials for invective against Vitellius, refrained from employing them

31 In fact, before the death of these two men (and it was by his death that Otho gained high renown, as Vitellius incurred by his the foulest infamy), Vitellius with his indolent luxury was less dreaded than Otho with his ardent passions The murder of Galba had made the one terrible and odious, while no one reckoned against the other the guilt of having begun the war Vitellius with his sensuality and gluttony was his own enemy, Otho, with his profligacy, his cruelty, and his recklessness, was held to be more dangerous to the Commonwealth When Cæcina and Valens had united their forces, the Vitellianists had no longer any reason to delay giving battle with their whole strength Otho deliberated as to whether protracting the war or risking an engagement were the better course Then Suetonius Paullinus, thinking that it befitted his reputation, which was such that no one at that period was looked upon as a more skilful soldier, to give an opinion on the whole conduct of the war, contended that impatience would benefit the enemy, while delay would serve their own cause

32 The entire army of Vitellius," he said, "has already arrived Nor have they much strength in their rear, since Gaul is ready to rise, and to abandon the banks of the Rhine, when such hostile tribes are ready to burst in, would not answer his purpose A hostile people and an intervening sea keep from him the army of Britain, Spain is not over full of troops, Gallia Narbonensis has been cowed by the attack of our ships and by a defeat, Italy beyond the Padus is shut in by the Alps, cannot be relieved from the sea, and has been exhausted by the passage of his army For that army there is nowhere any corn, and without supplies an army cannot be kept together Then the Germans, the most formidable part of the enemy s forces, should the war be protracted into the summer, will sink with enfeebled frames under the change of country and climate Many a war, formidable in its first impetuosity, has passed into nothing through the weariness of delay We, on the other hand, have on all sides abundant resources and loyal adherents We have Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East with its armies yet intact, we have Italy and Rome, the capital of the Empire, the Senate, and the people, names that never lose their splendour, though they may sometimes be eclipsed We have the wealth of the State and of private individuals We have a vast supply of money, which in a civil war is a mightier weapon than the sword Our soldiers are inured to the climate of Italy or to yet greater heat We have the river Padus on our front, and cities strongly garrisoned and fortified none of which will surrender to the enemy, as the defence of Placentia has proved Let Otho therefore protract the war In a few days the 14th legion, itself highly renowned, will arrive with the troops from Mœsia He may then again consider the question, and should a battle be resolved on, we shall fight with [illegible] creased strength"

33 M[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]o a few [illegible] [illegible]een seriously injured by the fall of his horse, was reported to agree by those who had been sent to ascertain his opinion Otho was inclined to risk a decisive battle His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the Prætorian Guard, ignorant and therefore impatient, declared that fortune, the Gods, and the genius of Otho, were with their counsels and would be with their enterprises That no one might dare to oppose their views, they had taken refuge in flattery It having been resolved to give battle, it became a question whether it would be better for the Emperor to be present in person, or to withdraw Paullinus and Celsus no longer opposed, for they would not seem to put the Emperor in the way of peril, and these same men who suggested the baser policy prevailed on him to retire to Brixellum, and thus secure from the hazards of the field, to reserve himself for the administration of empire That day first gave the death blow to the party of Otho Not only did a strong detachment of the Prætorian cohorts, of the bodyguard, and of the cavalry, depart with him, but the spirit of those who remained was broken, for the men suspected their generals, and Otho, who alone had the confidence of the soldiers, while he himself trusted in none but them, had left the generals' authority on a doubtful footing

34 Nothing of this escaped the Vitellianists, for, as is usual in civil wars, there were many deserters, and the spies, while busy in inquiring into the plans of the enemy, failed to conceal their own Meanwhile Cæcina and Valens remained quiet, and watched intently for the [illegible] when the enemy in his blindness shou[illegible]

upon destruction, and found the usual substitute for wisdom in waiting for the folly of others They began to form a bridge, making a feint of crossing the Padus, in the face of an opposing force of gladiators, they wished also to keep their own soldiers from passing their unoccupied time in idleness Boats were ranged at equal distances from each other, connected at both ends by strong beams and with their

loose in the water, in order that as the stream rose the vessels might rise without their arrangement being disturbed On the end of the bridge was placed a turret, it was built out on the last boat, and from it engines and machines might be worked to repel the enemy The soldiers of

them A considerable number, as it chanced,

tor has not in battle the firmness of the regular soldier, and now, as they stood on rocking vessels, they could not direct their blows like men who had a sure footing on land As the men in their alarm made confused movements, rowers and combatants were mingled together in disorder, upon this, the Germans themselves leapt into the shallows, laid hold of the boats, climbed over the gunwales, or sank them with their hands All this passed in the sight of both armies and the more it delighted the Vitellianists, the more vehemently did the Othonianists curse the cause and author of the disaster

36 The conflict was terminated by the flight of the vanquished who carried off what boats were left Then they cried out for the execution of Macer He had been wounded by a javelin thrown from a distance, and the soldiers had made a rush upon him with drawn swords, when he was saved by the interference of the tribunes and centurions Soon after Vestricius

gust so hateful a service

37 I find it stated by some authors that either the dread of war or the disgust felt for both Emperors, whose wickedness and infamy were coming out every day into more open notoriety, made the two armies hesitate whether they should not cease their strife, and either themselves consult together, or allow the Senate to choose an Emperor, and that for this reason,

the senior among the men of consular rank, that he was well known as a soldier, and had attained great distinction and fame by his campaigns in Britain Though I would allow that there were some few who in their secret wishes prayed for peace in the stead of disorder, for a worthy and blameless Emperor in the room of men utterly worthless and wicked, yet I cannot suppose that Paullinus, wise as he was, could have hoped in an age thoroughly depraved to find such moderation in the common herd, as that men, who in their passion for war had trampled peace under foot, should now in their affection for peace renounce the charms of war, nor can I think that armies differing in language and in character, could have united in such an agreement or that lieutenants and generals, who were for the most part burdened by the consciousness of profligacy, of poverty, and of crime, could have endured any Emperor who was not himself stained by vice, as well as bound by obligation to themselves

38 That old passion for power which has been ever innate in man increased and broke out as the Empire grew in greatness In a state of moderate dimensions equality was easily preserved, but when the world had been subdued, when all rival kings and cities had been destroyed, and men had leisure to covet wealth which they might enjoy in security, the early conflicts between the patricians and the people were kindled into flame At one time the tribunes were factious, at another the consuls had unconstitutional power, it was in the capital and the forum that we first essayed civil wars Then rose C Marius, sprung from the very dregs of the populace, and L Sulla, the most

and Philippi, much less were the armies of Otho and Vitellius likely of their own accord to abandon their strife They were driven into civil war by the same wrath from heaven, the same madness among men, the same incentives to crime That these wars were terminated by what we may call single blows, was owing to want of energy in the chiefs But these reflections on the character of ancient and modern times have carried me too far from my subject I now return to the course of events

39 Otho having started for Brixellum, the honours of supreme command devolved on his brother Titianus, while the real power and control were in the hands of the prefect Proculus Celsus and Paullinus, as no one made any use of their skill, did but screen with their idle title of general the blunders of others The tribunes and centurions were perplexed to see that better men were despised, and that the most worthless carried the day The common soldiers were full of eagerness, but liked to criticise rather than to obey the orders of their officers It was resolved to move the camp forward to the fourth mile stone from Bedriacum, but it was done so unskilfully, that though it was spring, and there were so many rivers in the neighbourhood, the troops were distressed for want of water Then the subject of giving battle was discussed, Otho in his despatches ever urging them to make haste, and the soldiers demanding that the Emperor should be present at the conflict, many begged that the troops quartered beyond the Padus should be brought up It is not so easy to determine what was best to be done as it is to be sure that what was done was the very worst

40 They started for a campaign rather than for a battle, making for the confluence of the Padus and Addua, a distance of sixteen miles from their position Celsus and Paullinus remonstrated against exposing troops wearied with a march and encumbered with baggage to any enemy, who, being himself ready for action and having marched barely four miles, would not fail to attack them, either when they were in the confusion of an advance or when they were dispersed and busy with the work of entrenchment Titianus and Proculus, overcome in argument, fell back on the Imperial authority It was true that a Numidian had arrived at full gallop with an angry message from Otho, in which the Emperor, sick of delay and impatient of suspense, sharply rebuked the inactivity of the generals, and commanded that matters should be brought to an issue

41 The same day, while Cæcina was engaged on the construction of a bridge, two tribunes of the Prætorian Guard came to him and begged an interview He was on the point of hearing their proposals and sending back his own, when the scouts arrived at headlong speed with the news that the enemy were close at hand The address of the tribunes was thus abruptly terminated Thus it remained uncertain whether deception, or treason or some honourable arrangement, had been in their thoughts Cæcina dismissed the tribunes and rode back to the camp There he found that Fabius Valens had given the signal for battle, and that the troops were under arms While the legions were casting lots for the order of march, the cavalry charged, and, strange to say were kept only by the courage of the Italian legion from being driven back on the entrenchments by an inferior force of Othonianists These men, at the sword s point, compelled the beaten squadron to wheel round and resume the conflict The line of the Vitellianists was formed without hurry, for, though the enemy was close at hand, the sight of their arms was intercepted by the thick brushwood In Otho's army the generals were full of fear, and the soldiers hated their officers the baggage wagons and the camp-followers were mingled with the troops and as there were steep ditches on both sides the road, it would have been found too narrow even for an undisturbed advance Some were gathering round their standards, others were seeking them, everywhere was heard the confused shouting of men who were joining the ranks or calling to their comrades, and each as he was prompted by courage or by cowardice, rushed on to the front, or slunk back to the rear

42 From the consternation of panic their feelings passed under the influence of a groundless joy into languid indifference, some persons spreading the lie that Vitellius army had revolted Whether this rumour was circulated by the spies of Vitellius or originated in treachery or in accident among the partisans of Otho, has never been clearly ascertained Forgetting their warlike ardour, the Othonianists at once greeted the foe, as they were answered by an angry murmur, they caused apprehensions of treachery in many of their own side, who did not know what the greeting meant Then the enemy s line charged with its ranks unbroken, in strength and in numbers superior, the Othonianists scattered and weary as they were, met the attack with spirit The ground was so entangled with trees and vineyards that the battle assumed many forms They met in close and in-

distant conflict, in line and in column On the raised road they stood foot to foot, they pushed with their bodies and their shields, and ceasing to throw their javelins, they struck through helmets and breastplates with swords and battle axes Recognising each other and distinctly seen by the rest of the combatants they were [illegible]

[illegible]

the side of Vitellius was the 21st, called the Rapax, a corps of old and distinguished renown On that of Otho was the 1st, called Adjutrix, which had never before been brought into the field, but was high spirited, and eager to gain its first triumph The men of the 1st, overthrowing the foremost ranks of the 21st, carried off the eagle The 21st, infuriated by this loss, not only repulsed the 1st, and slew the legate, Orfidius Benignus, but captured many colours and standards from the enemy In another quarter the 13th legion was put to flight by a charge of the 5th The 14th was surrounded by a superior force Otho's generals had long since fled, and Cæcina and Valens strengthened their army with the reserves New reinforcements were supplied by Varus Alfenius with his Batavians They had routed the band of gladiators which had been ferried across the river, and which had been cut to pieces by the opposing cohorts while they were actually in the water Thus flushed with victory, they charged the flank of the enemy

44 The centre of their line had been penetrated, and the Othonianists fled on all sides in the direction of Bedriacum The distance was very great, and the roads were blocked up with heaps of corpses, thus the slaughter was the greater, for captives taken in civil war can be turned to no profit *Suetonius Paullinus and* [illegible]

[illegible]

centre of a mob of clamorous and mutinous [illegible]

[illegible]

and Celsus were favoured by the darkness By that time the sentries had been posted, and the [illegible]

[illegible]

disaster of their defeat by mutual slaughter Whether the war was at an end, or whether they might choose to resume the conflict, the vanquished would find in union the sole mitigation of their lot The spirit of the rest of the army was broken, but the Prætorians angrily complained that they had been vanquished, not by valour, but by treachery "The Vitellianists indeed," they said, "gained no bloodless victory, their cavalry was defeated, a legion lost its eagle We have still the troops beyond the Padus, and Otho himself The legions of Mœsia are coming, a great part of the army remained at Bedriacum these certainly were never vanquished, and if it must be so, it is on the battle field that we shall fall with most honour" Amid all the exasperation or terror of these thoughts, the extremity of despair yet roused them to fury rather than to fear

45 The army of Vitellius bivouacked at the fifth milestone from Bedriacum The generals did not venture an assault on the enemy's camp that same day, besides, a capitulation was expected Though they were without baggage, and had marched out only to fight, it was sufficient protection to them that they had arms, and were victorious On the following day, as the feeling of Otho's army was evident, and those who had been most furious were inclined to repent, envoys were sent, nor did the generals of Vitellius hesitate to grant conditions of peace The envoys indeed were detained for some little time, and this circumstance caused some doubt, as it was not known whether they had obtained their object, before long, however, they returned, and the camp was thrown open Both victors and vanquished melted into tears, and cursed the fatality of civil strife with a melancholy joy There in the same tents did they dress the *wounds of brothers or of kinsmen Their hopes,* their rewards, were all uncertain, death and sorrow were sure And no one had so escaped misfortune as to have no bereavement to lament Search was made for the body of the legate Orfidius, and it was burnt with the customary honours A few were buried by their friends, the multitude that remained were left above ground

46 Otho was awaiting news of the battle free from alarm and resolved in purpose First came gloomy tidings, and then fugitives from the field making known that all was lost The zeal of the soldiers did not wait for the Emperor to speak They bade him be of good cheer, telling him that he had still fresh forces, and that they would themselves endure and dare to the last.

This was no flattery, they were fired by a furious impulse to seek the battle field, and raise again the fallen fortunes of their party Those who stood at a distance stretched out their arms, those who were near clasped the Emperor's knees, and Plotius Firmus was the most zealous of them all This man, who was prefect of the Prætorian Guard, repeatedly besought Otho not to desert an army so loyal and soldiers so deserving, "there was more courage in bearing trouble' he said, 'than in escaping from it, the brave and the energetic cling to hope, even in spite of fortune, the cowardly and the indolent are hurried into despair by their fears " While he was thus speaking, as Otho assumed a relenting or a stern expression, the soldiers cheered or groaned Nor was it only the Prætorians, who were peculiarly Otho's troops, that thus acted, those who had been sent on from Mœsia declared that the approaching army was as firmly resolved, and that the legions had entered Aquileia No one therefore can doubt that the war might have been renewed with its terrible disasters, and its uncertainties both for victors and vanquished

47 Otho himself was opposed to all thoughts of war He said, "I hold that to expose such a spirit, such a courage as yours, to any further risk is to put too high a value on my life The more hope you hold out to me, should I choose to live, the more glorious will be my death Fortune and I now know each other, you need not reckon for how long, for it is peculiarly difficult to be moderate with that prosperity which you think you will not long enjoy The civil war began with Vitellius, he was the first cause of our contending in arms for the throne, the example of not contending more than once shall belong to me By this let posterity judge of Otho Vitellius is welcome to his brother, his wife, his children I need neither revenge nor consolation Others may have held the throne for a longer time, but no one can have left it with such fortitude Shall I suffer so large a portion of the youth of Rome and so many noble armies to be again laid low and to be lost to the State? Let this thought go with me, that you were willing to die for me But live, and let us no longer delay, lest I interfere with your safety, you with my firmness To say too much about one's end is a mark of cowardice Take as the strongest proof of my determination the fact that I complain of no one To accuse either gods or men is only for him who wishes to live "

48 After having thus spoken, he courteously entreated all in terms befitting their age and rank to go at once, and not exasperate the anger of the conqueror by staying With the young he used his authority, with the old his prayers, and still his look was calm, his speech collected, as he checked the unseasonable tears of his friends He gave orders that those who were departing should be furnished with boats and carriages, he destroyed all memorials and letters remarkable for their expressions of zeal for himself or their abuse of Vitellius He distributed some gratuities, but sparingly, and not like a man who was soon to die Then he even administered consolation to Salvius Cocceianus, his brother's son, a very young man, who was anxious and sorrowful, praising his affection while he rebuked his fear Do you think, he said, 'that Vitellius will shew so ruthless a temper that he will not make even this return for the preservation of his whole family? By hastening my end I earn the clemency of the conqueror It is not in the extremity of despair but while my army yet cries for battle, that I have sacrificed to the State my last chance I have obtained enough reputation for myself, enough nobility for my family. Successor to the Julii, the Claudii, the Servii, I have been the first to bring the Imperial dignity into a new family Enter then on life with a brave heart, and never entirely forget, or remember too vividly, that Otho was your uncle "

49 After this he dismissed every one, and took some repose He was now pondering in his heart the last cares of life, when his attention was distracted by a sudden tumult and he was told of the confusion and outrageous conduct of the soldiers They were threatening with death all who attempted to depart, and were extreme in their violence against Verginius whose house they had blockaded and were besieging After rebuking the ringleaders of the tumult, he returned and employed himself in granting interviews to those who were departing, till all had left in safety Towards evening he quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water Two daggers were brought to him he tried the edge of each and then put one under his head After satisfying himself that his friends had set out, he passed a tranquil night and it is even said that he slept At dawn he fell with his breast upon the steel Hearing a groan from the dying man, his freedmen and slaves, and Plotius Firmus, prefect of the Prætorian Guard, came in They found but one wound His funeral was hastily performed He had made this the subject of earnest entreaties, anxious that h[illegible] might not be cut off and subjected to i[illegible]

ties The Prætorian cohorts carried his body with praises and tears, covering his wound and his hands with kisses Some of the soldiers killed themselves near the funeral pile, not moved by remorse or by fear, but by the desire to emulate his glory, and by love of their Prince Afterwards this kind of death became a common practice among all ranks at Bedriacum, at Placentia, and in the other camps Over Otho was built a tomb unpretending and therefore likely to stand

50 Thus Otho ended his life in the 37th year of his age He came from the municipal town of Ferentinum His father was of consular, his grandfather of prætorian rank His family on the mother s side was of less distinction, but yet respectable What his boyhood and his youth had been, we have already shewn By two daring acts, one most atrocious, the other singularly noble, he earned in the eyes of posterity about an equal share of infamy and of glory I should think it unbecoming the dignity of the task which I have undertaken, to collect fabulous marvels, and to amuse with fiction the tastes of my readers, at the same time I would not venture to impugn the credit of common report and tradition The natives of these parts relate

Lepidum, and was not frightened or driven away by the concourse of people, or by the multitude of birds that flocked round it, until Otho killed himself, then it vanished When they came to compute the time, it was found that the commencement and the end of this strange occurrence tallied with the last scenes of Otho s life

51 At the funeral the mutinous spirit of the soldiers was kindled afresh by their sorrow and regret, and there was no one to check them

to Cæcina and Valens Verginius secretly departed by a back way from his house, and thus managed to elude them when they burst in Rubrius Gallus was charged with the petition of the cohorts which had been quartered at

to the conqueror

52 Hostilities had ceased everywhere, but a considerable number of the Senate, who had accompanied Otho from Rome, and had been afterwards left at Mutina, encountered the utmost peril News of the defeat was brought to this place The soldiers, however, rejected it as

and manner Proceeding at last to abuse and insults, they sought a pretext for beginning a massacre, while a different anxiety also weighed upon the Senators, who, knowing that the party of Vitellius was in the ascendant, feared

own, but looked for safety in sharing any mistake with many others The anxieties of the terrified assembly were aggravated when the Senate of Mutina made them an offer of arms and money, and, with an ill timed compliment, styled them "Conscript Fathers"

53 There then ensued a notable quarrel, *Licinius Cæcina inveighing against* Marcellus Eprius, for using ambiguous language The rest indeed did not express their opinions, but the name of Marcellus, exposed as it was to odium from the hateful recollection of his career as an informer, had roused in Cæcina, who was an unknown man, and had lately been made a Senator, the hope of distinguishing himself by making great enemies The moderation of wiser men put an end to the dispute They all returned to Bononia, intending there to deliberate again, and also expecting further news in the meantime At Bononia they posted men on the different roads to make enquiries of every newcomer, one of Otho's freedmen, on being questioned as to the cause of his

with admiration, and were ashamed to put any more questions, and then the hearts of all turned to Vitellius

54 Lucius Vitellius, the brother of the Emperor, was present at their deliberations, and was preparing to receive their flatteries, when of a sudden Cœnus, a freedman of Nero, threw them all into consternation by an outrageous falsehood He asserted that, by the arrival of the 14th legion joined to the forces from Brixellum, the victorious army had been routed and the fortunes of the party changed The object

of this fabrication was that the passports of Otho, which were beginning to be disregarded, might through more favourable news recover their validity Cœnus was conveyed with rapidity to the capital, but a few days after suffered the penalty of his crime by the order of Vitellius The peril of the Senators was increased by the soldiers of Otho's army believing that the intelligence thus brought was authentic Their alarm was heightened by the fact that their departure from Mutina and their desertion of the party had the appearance of a public resolution They did not meet again for general deliberation, but every man consulted his own safety, till letters arrived from Fabius Valens which removed their fear Besides, the very glory of Otho's death made the news travel more quickly

55 At Rome, however, there was no alarm, the games of Ceres were attended as usual When trustworthy messengers brought into the theatre the news that Otho was dead, and that all the troops in the capital had taken the oath to Vitellius under the direction of Flavius Sabinus, prefect of the city, the spectators greeted the name of Vitellius with applause The people carried round the temples images of Galba, ornamented with laurel leaves and flowers, and piled chaplets in the form of a sepulchral mound near the lake of Curtius, on the very spot which had been stained with the blood of the dying man. In the Senate all the customary honours, which had been devised during the long reigns of other Emperors, were forthwith decreed Public acknowledgments and thanks were also given to the armies of Germany, and envoys were sent charged with congratulations There was read a letter from Fabius Valens to the consuls, which was written in a not unbecoming style, but they liked better the modesty of Cæcina in not writing at all

56 Italy, however, was prostrated under sufferings heavier and more terrible than the evils of war The soldiers of Vitellius, dispersed through the municipal towns and colonies, were robbing and plundering and polluting every place with violence and lust Everything, lawful or unlawful, they were ready to seize or to sell, sparing nothing, sacred or profane Some persons under the soldiers' garb murdered their private enemies The soldiers themselves, who knew the country well, marked out rich estates and wealthy owners for plunder, or for death in case of resistance, their commanders were in their power and dared not check them Cæcina indeed was not so rapacious as he was fond of popularity, Valens was so notorious for his dishonest gains and peculations that he was disposed to conceal the crimes of others The resources of Italy had long been impaired, and the presence of so vast a force of infantry and cavalry, with the outrages, the losses, and the wrongs they inflicted was more than it could well endure

57 Meanwhile Vitellius, as yet unaware of his victory was bringing up the remaining strength of the army of Germany just as if the campaign had yet to be fought A few of the old soldiers were left in the winter quarters, and the conscription throughout Gaul was hastily proceeded with, in order that the muster rolls of the legions which remained behind might be filled up The defence of the bank of the Rhine was entrusted to Hordeonius Flaccus Vitellius himself added to his own army 8000 men of the British conscription He had proceeded a few days march when he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum and of the termination of the war through Otho's death He called an assembly, and heaped praises on the valour of the soldiers When the army demanded that he should confer equestrian rank on Asiaticus his freedman he checked the disgraceful flattery Then with his characteristic fickleness, in the privacy of a banquet he granted the very distinction which he had publicly refused and honoured with the ring of Knighthood this same Asiaticus, a slave of infamous character, ever seeking power by unprincipled intrigues

58 About the same time news came to Vitellius that the procurator Albinus had fallen, and that both the provinces of Mauritania had declared for him Lucceius Albinus, whom Nero had appointed to the government of Mauritania Cæsariensis, to which Galba had subsequently added the charge of the province of Tingitana, had the disposal of no contemptible force He had with him 19 cohorts of infantry, 5 squadrons of cavalry, and a vast number of Moors, a force trained to war by robbery and plunder When Galba had fallen, he was strongly disposed in favour of Otho He even looked beyond Africa and threatened Spain, which is separated from it only by a narrow strait This alarmed Cluvius Rufus, who ordered the 10th legion to approach the coast, as if he intended to send them across Some of the centurions were sent on before to gain for Vitellius the good will of the Moors This was no difficult task, as the fame of the German army great in the provinces Besides this,

circulated that Albinus, scorning the title of procurator, was assuming the insignia of royalty and the name of Juba

59 The tide of feeling turned, and Asinius Pollio, one of the stanchest friends of Albinus, prefect of one of the squadrons of cavalry, with Festus and Scipio, prefects of two infantry cohorts, were killed Albinus himself, who was sailing from the province Tingitana to Mauritania Cæsariensis, was murdered as he reached the shore His wife threw herself in the way of the murderers and was killed with him Vitel [illegible]

equal to any serious business He directed the army to proceed by land, but sailed himself *down the river Arar His progress had nothing* of imperial state about it, but was marked by the poverty of his former condition, till Junius *Blæsus governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man* of noble birth, whose munificence was equal to his wealth, furnished him with suitable attendance, and escorted him with a splendid retinue, a service which was of itself displeasing, though Vitellius masked his dislike under servile compliments At Lugdunum the generals of the two parties, the conquerors and the conquered, were waiting for him Valens and Cæcina he put by his own chair of state, after celebrating their praises before a general assembly He then ordered the whole army to come and greet his infant son, he brought him out, wrapped in a military cloak, and holding him in his arms, gave him the title of Germanicus and surrounded him with all the insignia of the imperial rank It was an extravagant distinction for a day of prosperity, but it served as a consolation in adversity

60 Then the bravest centurions among the Othonianists were put to death This more than anything else, alienated from Vitellius the armies of Illyricum At the same time the other *legions, influenced by the contagion of exam*ple, and by their dislike of the German troops, were meditating war Vitellius detained Suetonius Paullinus and Licinus Proculus in all the wretchedness of an odious imprisonment, when they were heard, they resorted to a defence, necessary rather than honourable They actually claimed the merit of having been traitors, attributing to their own dishonest counsels the long march before the battle, the fatigue of Otho's troops, the entanglement of the line with the baggage wagons, and many circumstances which were really accidental Vitellius gave them credit for perfidy, and acquitted them of the crime of loyalty Salvius Titianus, the brother of Otho, was never in any peril, for his brotherly affection and his apathetic character screened him from danger Marius Celsus had his consulship confirmed to him It was commonly believed, however, and was afterwards made a matter of accusation in the Senate against Cæcilius Simplex, that he had sought to purchase this honour, and with it the destruction of Celsus Vitellius refused and afterwards bestowed on Simplex a consulship that had not to be bought with crime or with money Trachalus was protected against his accusers by Galeria the wife of Vitellius

61 Amid the adventures of these illustrious men one is ashamed to relate how a certain Mariccus a *Boian of the lowest origin, pretend*ing to divine inspiration, ventured to thrust [illegible]

tive youth, to which Vitellius attached some cohorts, and dispersed the crowd of fanatics Mariccus was captured in the engagement, and [illegible]

was put to death in the presence of Vitellius

62 No further severities were exercised on the persons of the opposite faction, or with property in any case, the wills of those who had fallen fighting for Otho were held to be valid, and with those who died intestate, the law was carried out Assuredly, could Vitellius have bridled his luxurious tastes, no one need have dreaded his rapacity He had a scandalous and insatiable passion for feasts, the provocatives of gluttony were conveyed to him from the capital and from *Italy, till the roads from both seas resounded* with traffic, the leading men of the various states were ruined by having to furnish his entertainments, and the states themselves reduced to beg [illegible]

grade themselves by appearing in public entertainments, or in the arena Former Emperors had encouraged the practice by bribes, or more frequently enforced it by compulsion, and many of the towns and colonies had vied with each other in attracting by large pay the most profl gate of the youth

63 Vitellius, however, when his brother joined him, and when those who are skilled in the arts of despotism began to creep into his confidence, grew more arrogant and cruel He ordered the execution of Dolabella, whose banishment by Otho to the Colonia Aquinas I have before mentioned Dolabella, on hearing of the death of Otho, had entered the capital Plancius Varus, who had filled the office of prætor, and had been one of Dolabella's intimate friends, founded on this a charge, which he laid before Flavius Sabinus, prefect of the city, implying that Dolabella had escaped from custody, and had offered to put himself at the head of the vanquished party, and he also alleged that the cohort stationed at Ostia had been tampered with Of these grave accusations he brought no proof whatever, and then repenting, sought, when the crime had been consummated, a pardon which could be of no avail Flavius Sabinus hesitating to act in a matter of such importance, Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, with unfeminine ferocity, warned him not to seek a reputation for clemency by imperilling the Emperor Sabinus was naturally of a mild disposition but under the pressure of fear was easily swayed here [illegible]

[illegible] Petronia, his former wife, summoned him by letter, and at the same time gave orders that, without passing along the much frequented thoroughfare of the Flaminian road, he should turn aside to Interamna, and there be put to death This seemed too tedious to the executioner, who in a road side tavern struck down his prisoner, and cut his throat The act brought great od[illegible]

[illegible] these horrors, and with [illegible] the mother of the two Vitellii, a woman equally blameless, and of the old type of character She indeed is said to have exclaimed on receiving the first letter from her son, 'I am the mother, not of Germanicus, but of Vitellius" And in after days no seductions of fortune, no flattery from the State, could move her to exultation, it was only the misfortunes of her family that she felt

65 M Cluvius Rufus, who had left his government in Spain, came up with Vitellius after his departure from Lugdunum He wore a look of joy and congratulation, but he was anxious at heart for he knew that he was the object of accusations Hilarius the Emperor's freedman had indeed brought this charge against him, that on hearing of the contest for the throne between Vitellius and Otho, he had made an attempt to secure power for himself, and to obtain possession of Spain and that with this view he had not headed his passports with the name of any Emperor Some extracts from the speeches of Rufus he represented as insulting to Vitellius, and intended to win popularity for him [illegible] was the influence of [illegible]

[illegible] beaten and that the strength of the legion had been absent It was resolved that these troops should be sent back to Britain, from which province Nero had summoned them, *and that* the Batavian cohorts should in the meantime be quartered with them, because there was an old feud between them and the 14th In the presence of such animosities between these armed masses, harmony did not last long At Augusta of the Taurini it happened that a Batavian soldier fiercely charged *some artisan* cheated him and that a soldier took the part of his host Each gathered round him, from [illegible]

blows, and a fierce battle would have broken out, had not two Prætorian cohorts taken the side of the 14th, and given confidence to them, while they intimidated the Batavians Vitellius then ordered that these latter troops should be attached to his own force, in consideration of their loyalty, and that the legion should pass over the Graian Alps, and then take that line of road, by which they would avoid passing Vienna, for the inhabitants of that place were also suspected On the night of the departure of the legion, a part of the Colonia Taurina was destroyed by the fires which were left in every direction This loss, like many of the evils of war, was forgotten in the greater disasters which happened to other cities When the 14th had made the descent on the other side of the Alps, the most mutinous among them were for carrying the standards to Vienna They were checked, however, by the united efforts of the better disposed, and the legion was transported into Britain

67. Vitellius found his next cause of apprehension in the Prætorian cohorts They were first divided, and then ordered, though with the gratifying compliment of an honourable discharge, to give up their arms to their tribunes. But as the arms of Vespasian gathered strength, they returned to their old service, and constituted the mainstay of the Flavianist party The first legion from the fleet was sent into Spain, that in the peaceful repose of that province their excitement might subside, the 7th and 11th were sent back to their winter quarters, the 13th were ordered to erect amphitheatres, for both Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia, were preparing to exhibit shows of gladiators Vitellius indeed was never so intent on

mong the conquerors. It began in sport, but the number of those who fell aggravated the horrors of the war. Vitellius had sat down to a banquet at Ticinum, and had invited Verginius to be his guest. The legates and tribunes always *follow the character of the Emperor, and either* imitate his strictness, or indulge in early conviviality. And the soldiers in like manner are either diligent or lax in their duty. About Vitellius all was disorder and drunkenness, more like a nocturnal feast and revel than a properly disciplined camp. Thus it happened that two soldiers, one of whom belonged to the 5th legion, while the other was one of the Gallic auxiliaries, challenged each other in sport to a wrestling match. The legionary was thrown, and the Gaul taunted him. The soldiers who had assembled to witness the contest took different sides, till the legionaries made a sudden and murderous attack on the auxiliary troops, and destroyed two cohorts. The first disturbance was checked only by a second A cloud of dust and the glitter of arms were seen at a distance A sudden cry was raised that the 14th legion had retraced its steps, and was advancing to the attack. It was in fact the rearguard of the

ginius Even Vitellius, tremblingly alive as he was to all suspicions, had no doubt of his innocence. Yet he could hardly check the troops when they clamoured for the death of a man of consular rank, formerly their own general Indeed there was no one who was more frequently the object of all kinds of outbreaks

ence to the envoys from the Senate whom he had

loudly complained that such complete impunity, such privileged arrogance, was accorded to the legions The Batavian cohorts were sent

foreign war. The Gallic auxiliaries were sent back to their respective states, a vast body of men, which in the very earliest stage of the revolt had been employed to make an idle show of strength. Besides this, in order to eke out the Imperial resources, which had been impaired by a series of bounties, directions were

ury, a luxury that transgressed our ancient discipline and the customs of our ancestors, in

whose days the power of Rome found a surer foundation in valour than in wealth

70 Vitellius then directed his course to Cremona and after witnessing the spectacle exhibited by Cæcina, he conceived a desire to visit the plains of Bedriacum and to survey the scene of the recent victory It was a hideous and terrible sight Not forty days had passed since the battle, and there lay mangled corpses, severed limbs, the putrefying forms of men and horses, the soil was saturated with gore, and, what with levelled trees and crops, horrible was the desolation Not less revolting was that portion of the road which the people of Cremona had strewed with laurel leaves and roses, and [illegible]

[illegible] pointed out the various localities of the field of battle, shewing how from one point the columns of the legions had rushed to the attack, how from another the cavalry had charged, how from a third the auxiliary troops had turned the flank of the enemy The tribunes and prefects extolled their individual achievements, and mixed together fictions, facts, and exaggerations The common soldiers also turned aside from the line of march with joyful shouts, and recognized the various scenes of conflict, and gazed with wonder on the piles of weapons [illegible]

[illegible] did not turn away his eyes, did not shudder to behold the unburied corpses of so many thousands of his countrymen, nay, in his exultation, in his ignorance of the doom which was so close upon himself, he actually instituted a religious ceremony in honour of the tutelary gods of the place

71 A show of gladiators was then given by Fabius Valens at Bononia, with all the arrangements introduced from the capital The nearer the Emperor approached to Rome, the greater was the [illegible]

[illegible]

Finally, after the servile fashion of the time, thanks were voted to Vitellius

[illegible]

concealed himself in Histria [illegible] family of the Crassi still had dependants, es[illegible]

[illegible]

brought before Vitellius and asked who he was, as his account of himself could not be trusted, and his master recognised him as a [illegible]

[illegible]

and uncertain, Vespasian was the subject of much talk and rumour, and at the mention of his name Vitellius often roused himself But now, both the Emperor and the army as if they had no rival to fear, indulging in cruelty, lust, and rapine, plunged into all the licence of foreign manners

74 Vespasian, on the other hand, was taking a general survey of the chances of a campaign and of his resources both immediate and remote The soldiers were so entirely devoted to him, that as he dictated the oath of allegiance [illegible]

[illegible]

towards Titus Already had Alexander, [illegible] ernor of Egypt, declared his adhesion The third legion as it had passed over from Syria to Mœsia Vespasian counted upon as devoted to himself, and it was hoped that the other

legions of Illyricum would follow its example. In fact the whole army had been kindled into indignation by the insolence of the soldiers who came among them from Vitellius Savage in appearance, and speaking a rude dialect, they ridiculed everybody else as their inferiors But in such gigantic preparations for war there is usually delay Vespasian was at one moment high in hope, and at another disposed to reflect on the chances of failure What a day would that be when he should expose himself with his sixty years upon him, and the two young men, his sons, to the perils of war! In private enterprises men may advance or recede, and presume more or less upon fortune as they may choose, whereas they who aim at empire have no alternative between the highest success and utter downfall

lius had been victorious, and that among the

be the use of infantry and cavalry, should one or two men seek the prize with which the enemy would be ready to reward a prompt act of

move the hearts of the multitude than to avoid the single assassin

who enter upon schemes involving great interests, should consider whether what they are attempting be for the advantage of the State, for their own credit, easy of accomplishment, or at any rate free from serious difficulty They must also weigh the circumstances of their adviser,

Under heaven this dignity lies within your reach. And do not dread what may present the semblance of flattery. To be chosen successor to Vitellius would be more of an insult than a compliment It is not against the vigorous intellect of the Divine Augustus, it is not against the profound subtlety of the aged Tiberius, it

State to degradation and ruin, would look like indolence and cowardice, even supposing that servitude were as safe for you as it would be in

now your only refuge Have you forgotten how

though he had seen no service and had no military reputation, was raised to the throne by the unpopularity of Galba Otho, who was overcome, not indeed by skilful generalship, or by a powerful enemy, but by his own premature de-

auxiliaries, and sowing every day fresh seeds of civil war. All the energy and high spirit which once belonged to his army is wasted in the rev-

tle, uncorrupted by dissension, you have a soldiery hardened by habits of warfare and victorious over foreign foes, you have strong fleets, auxiliaries both horse and foot, kings most faithful to your cause, and an experience in which you excel all other men

77. "For myself I will claim nothing more than not to be reckoned inferior to Valens and Caecina But do not spurn Mucianus as an associate, because you do not find in him a rival I count myself better than Vitellius; I count you better than myself Your house is ennobled

of the man whose son I should adopt, were I myself Emperor. Between us, however, there will not be an equal distribution of the fruits of success or failure. If we are victorious I shall have whatever honour you think fit to bestow on me, the dan[illegible]

[illegible]

and lay open the hidden and rankling wounds of the [illegible]

[illegible] indolence, ignorance, and cruelty of Vitellius Once at war, we have a better cause than we can have in peace, for those who deliberate on revolt have revolted already."

78 After this speech from Mucianus, the other officers crowded round Vespasian with fresh confidence, encouraging him, and reminding him of the responses of prophets and the movements of the heavenly bodies. Nor was Vespasian proof against this superstition, for afterwards, when master of the world, he openly retained one Seleucus, an astrologer, to direct his counsels, and to foretell the future Old omens now [illegible]

[illegible] jestic beauty and even broader shade This, as the Haruspices agreed, was an omen of brilliant success, and the highest distinction seemed prophesied to Vespasian in early youth At first, however, the honours of a triumph, his consulate, and the glory of his victories in Judæa, appeared to have justified the truth of the omen When he had won these distinctions, he began to believe that it portended the Imperial power Between Judæa and Syria is Mount Carmel, this is the name both of the mountain and the Deity. They have no image of the god nor any temple, the tradition of antiquity recognises only an altar and its sacred association While Vespasian was there [illegible]

[illegible] slaves, there is given you a vast habitation, boundless territory, a multitude of men" These obscure intimations popular rumour had at once caught up, and now began to interpret Nothing was more talked about by the common people In Vespasian's presence the topic was more frequently discussed, because to the aspirant himself men have more to say

79 With purposes no longer doubtful they parted, Mucianus for Antioch, Vespasian for Cæsarea These cities are the capitals of Syria and Judæa respectively The initiative in transferring the Empire to Vespasian was taken at [illegible]

[illegible] was ever after celebrated as the first of his reign, though the army of Judæa on July 3rd took the oath to Vespasian in person with such eager alacrity that they would not wait for the return of his son Titus, who was then on his [illegible]

[illegible] while hope, fear, the chances of success or of disaster, were present to their minds, one day, on Vespasian quitting his chamber, a few sol[illegible]

[illegible] dressed them He could speak Greek with considerable grace, and in all that h[illegible] and

legions of Illyricum would follow its example In fact the whole army had been kindled into

in such gigantic preparations for war there is usually delay Vespasian was at one moment high in hope, and at another disposed to reflect on the chances of failure What a day would that be when he should expose himself with his sixty years upon him, and the two young men, his sons, to the perils of war! In private enterprises men may advance or recede, and presume more or less upon fortune as they may choose, whereas they who aim at empire have no alternative between the highest success and utter downfall

75 The strength of the army of Germany, with which as a military man he was well acquainted, was continually before his eyes He reflected that his own legions were wholly without experience of a civil war, that those of Vitellius had been victorious, and that among the conquered there was more dissatisfaction than real strength Civil strife had shaken the fidel

move the hearts of the multitude than to avoid the single assassin

76 Though staggered by these apprehensions, he was confirmed in his purpose by others among the legates and among his own friends,

who enter upon schemes involving great interests, should consider whether what they are attempting be for the advantage of the State, for their own credit, easy of accomplishment, or at any rate free from serious difficulty They must

reach And do not dread what may present the semblance of flattery. To be chosen successor to Vitellius would be more of an insult than a

State to degradation and ruin, would look like indolence and cowardice, even supposing that servitude were as safe for you as it would be in

Corbulo was murdered? His origin, I grant, was more illustrious than ours, yet in nobility of birth Nero surpassed Vitellius. The man who

though he had seen no service and had no military reputation, was raised to the throne by the unpopularity of Galba Otho, who was over

elry of taverns and in aping the debaucheries

diery hardened by habits of warfare and victorious over foreign foes, you have strong fleets, auxiliaries both horse and foot, kings most faithful to your cause, and an experience in

you better than myself. Your house is by the glories of a triumph; it has two youthful scions, one of whom is already equal to the cares of Empire, and in the earliest years of his military career won renown with these very armies of Germany. It would be ridiculous in me not to waive my claims to Empire in favour

sinews of war, looked in all questions, not to right or truth, but only to the extent of a man's fortune Informations abounded, and all the richest men were fastened on for plunder These intolerable oppressions, which yet found some excuse in the necessities of war, were continued even in peace Vespasian himself indeed at the beginning of his reign was not so bent on enforcing these iniquitous measures, till, spoilt by prosperity and evil counsellors, he learnt this policy and ventured to use it Mucianus contributed to the war even from his own purse, liberal with his private means because he helped himself without scruple from the wealth of the State. The rest followed his example in contributing their money, very few enjoyed the same licence in reimbursing themselves

85 Meanwhile the operations of Vespasian were hastened by the zeal of the army of Illyricum, which had come over to his side The third legion set the example to the other legions of Mœsia These were the eighth and seventh (Claudius'), who were possessed with a strong liking for Otho, though they had not been present at the battle of Bedriacum They had advanced to Aquileia, and by roughly repulsing the messengers who brought the tidings of Otho's defeat, by tearing the colours which displayed the name of Vitellius, by finally seizing on the military chest and dividing it among themselves, had assumed a hostile attitude Then they began to fear; fear suggested a new thought, that acts might be made a merit of with Vespasian, which would have to be excused to Vitellius. Accordingly, the three legions of Mœsia sought by letter to win over the army of Pannonia, and prepared to use force if they refused During this commotion, Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mœsia, ventured on a most atrocious act He despatched a centurion to murder Tettius Julianus, the legate of the 7th legion, to gratify a private pique, which he concealed beneath the appearance of party zeal Julianus, having discovered his danger, and procured some guides, who were acquainted with the country, fled through the pathless wastes of Mœsia beyond Mount Hæmus, nor did he afterwards take any part in the civil war He set out to join Vespasian, but contrived to protract his journey by various pretexts, lingering or hastening on his way, according to the intelligence he received

86. In Pannonia, however, the 13th legion and the 7th (Galba's), which still retained their vexation and rage at the defeat of Bedriacum, joined Vespasian without hesitation, mainly under the influence of Primus Antonius This man, though an offender against the law, and convicted of fraud in the reign of Nero, had, among the other calamities of war, recovered his rank as a Senator Having been appointed by Galba to command the 7th legion, he was commonly believed to have often written to Otho, offering the party his services as a general Being slighted, however, by that Prince, he found no employment during the war When the fortunes of Vitellius began to totter he attached himself to Vespasian, and brought a vast accession of strength to his party He was brave in battle, ready of speech dexterous in bringing odium upon other men, powerful amidst civil strife and rebellion, rapacious, prodigal, the worst of citizens in peace, but in war no contemptible ally United by these means, the armies of Mœsia and Pannonia drew with them the soldiery of Dalmatia, though the consular legates took no part in the movement Titus Ampius Flavianus was the governor of Pannonia, Poppæus Silvanus of Dalmatia They were both rich and advanced in years The Imperial procurator, however, was Cornelius Fuscus a man in the prime of life and of illustrious birth Though in early youth the desire of repose had led him to resign his senatorial rank, he afterwards put himself at the head of his colony in fighting for Galba, and by this service he obtained his procuratorship Subsequently embracing the cause of Vespasian, he lent the movement the stimulus of a fiery zeal Finding his pleasure not so much in the rewards of peril as in peril itself, to assured and long acquired possession he preferred novelty, uncertainty, and risk. Accordingly, both he and Antonius strove to agitate and disturb wherever there was any weak point Despatches were sent to the 14th legion in Britain and to the 1st in Spain, for both these le[illegible]
the su[illegible]
were s[illegible]
in a m[illegible]
the ar[illegible] were already in open revolt, and the rest were waiting only the signal of success

87 While Vespasian and the generals of his party were thus occupied in the provinces, Vitellius was daily becoming more contemptible and indolent, halting to enjoy the pleasures of every town and villa in his way, as with his cumbrous host he advanced towards the capital He was followed by 60,000 armed soldiers demoralized by licence. Still larger was the num-

he had the art of displaying himself to advantage. Nothing excited the provincials and the army so much as the assertion of Mucianus that Vitellius had determined to remove the legions of Germany to Syria, to an easy and lucrative service, while the armies of Syria were to have given them in exchange the encampments of Germany with their inclement climate and their harassing toils. On the one hand, the provincials from long use felt a pleasure in the companionship of the soldiers, with whom many of them were connected by friendship or relationship; on the other, the soldiers from the long duration of their service loved the well known and familiar camp as a home.

81 Before the 15th of July the whole of Syria had adopted the same allegiance. There joined him, each with his entire kingdom, Sohemus, who had no contemptible army, and Antiochus, who possessed vast ancestral wealth, and was the richest of all the subject kings. Before long Agrippa, who had been summoned from the capital by secret despatches from his friends, while as yet Vitellius knew nothing, was crossing the sea with all speed. Queen Berenice too, who was then in the prime of youth and beauty, and who had charmed even the old Vespasian by the splendour of her presents, promoted his cause with equal zeal. All the provinces washed by the sea, as far as Asia and Achaia, and the whole expanse of country inland towards Pontus and Armenia, took the oath of allegiance. The legates, however, of these provinces were without troops, Cappadocia as yet having had no legions assigned to it. A council was held at Berytus to deliberate on the general conduct of the war. Thither came Mucianus with the legates and tribunes and all the most distinguished centurions and soldiers, and thither also the picked troops of the army of Judæa. Such a vast assemblage of cavalry and infantry, and the pomp of the kings that strove to rival each other in magnificence, presented an appearance of Imperial splendour.

82 The first business of the campaign was to levy troops and recall the veterans to service. The strong cities were set apart for the manufacture of arms; at Antioch gold and silver money was coined, everything being vigorously carried on in its appointed place by properly qualified agents. Vespasian himself went everywhere, urged to exertion, encouraged the industrious by praise, and with the indolent used the stimulus of example rather than of compulsion, and chose to be blind to the faults rather than to the merits of his friends. Many among them he distinguished with prefectures and governments, and several with the honours of senatorial rank; all these were men of eminence who soon reached the highest positions. In some cases good fortune served instead of merit. Of a donative to the troops Mucianus in his first speech had held out only moderate hopes, and even Vespasian offered no more in the civil war than others had done in times of peace, thus making a noble stand against all bribery of the soldiery, and possessing in consequence a better army. Envoys were sent to Parthia and Armenia, and precautions were taken that, when the legions were engaged in the civil war, the country in their rear might not be exposed to attack. It was arranged that Titus should pursue the war in Judæa, while Vespasian should secure the passes into Egypt. To cope with Vitellius, a portion of the army, the generalship of Mucianus, the prestige of Vespasian's name, and the destiny before which all difficulties vanish, seemed sufficient. To all the armies and legates letters were despatched, and instructions were given to them that they were to attach the Prætorians, who hated Vitellius, by the inducement of renewed military service.

83 Mucianus, who acted more as a colleague than as a servant of the Emperor, moved on with some light armed troops, not indeed at a tardy pace so as to give the appearance of delay, yet not with extraordinary speed. Thus he allowed rumour to gather fresh strength by distance, well aware that his force was but small, and that exaggerated notions are formed about what is not seen. Behind him, however, came in a vast body the 6th legion and 13,000 veterans. He had given directions that the fleet from the Pontus should be brought up to Byzantium, not having yet made up his mind, whether, avoiding Mœsia, he should move on Dyrrachium with his infantry and cavalry, and at the same time blockade the sea on the side of Italy with his ships of war, thus leaving Asia and Achaia safe in his rear, which, being bare of troops, would be left at the mercy of Vitellius, unless they were occupied with proper garrisons. And thus too Vitellius himself, finding Brundisium, Tarentum, and the shores of Calabria and Lucania menaced by hostile fleets, would be in utter perplexity as to which part of Italy he should protect.

84 Thus the provinces echoed with the bustle of preparing fleets, armies, and the implements of war. Nothing, however, was so vexatious as the raising of money. Mucianus, with the perpetual assertion that money was the

[illegible]

Senate even when unimportant matters were under discussion, and it once happened that [illegible]

[illegible] ple to support his insulted authority, and then, when his friends who feared his resentment [illegible]

[illegible] having selected, not one of the most influential men of the time, but Thrasea, as his model of true glory

92 He had advanced to the command of the Prætorian Guard Publius Sabinus a prefect of the cohort, and Julius Priscus then only a centurion It was through the influence of Cæcina and Valens that they respectively rose to power Though always at variance, these two men left no authority to Vitellius The functions of Empire were discharged by Cæcina and Valens They had long before been led to suspect each other by animosities scarcely concealed amid the cares of the campaign and the camp, and aggravated by unprincipled friends and a state of society calculated to produce such feuds In their struggles for popularity, in their long retinues, and in the vast crowds at their levees, they vied with each other and challenged comparison, while the favour of Vitellius inclined first to one and then to the other There can never be complete confidence in a power which is excessive Vitellius himself, who was ever varying between sudden irritation and unseasonable fondness, they at once despised and feared Still this had not made them less keen to seize on palaces and gardens and all the wealth of the Empire, while a sad and needy throng of nobles, whom with their children Galba had restored to their country, received no relief from the compassion of the Emperor By an edict which gratified the leading men of the State, while it approved itself even to the populace, Vitellius gave back to the returned exiles their rights over their freedmen, although servile ingenuity sought in every way to neutralise the boon, concealing money in quarters which either obscurity or rank rendered secure Some freedmen had made their way into the palace of the Emperor, and thus became more powerful even than their patrons

93 Meanwhile the soldiers, as their numbers overflowed the crowded camp dispersed throughout the porticoes, the temples, and the whole capital, did not know their own head quarters kept no watch, and ceased to brace themselves by toil Amidst the allurements of the city and all shameful excesses they wasted their strength in idleness, and their energies in riot At last, reckless even of health a large portion of them quartered themselves in the notoriously pestilential neighbourhood of the Vatican hence ensued a great mortality in the ranks The Tiber was close at hand and their extreme eagerness for the water and their impatience of the heat weakened the constitutions of the Germans and Gauls, always liable to disease To make matters worse the organisation of the service was deranged by unprincipled intrigue and favour Sixteen Prætorian [illegible]

[illegible] of good character were allowed, [illegible] so wished, to remain with the legions or in the cavalry, and this was the choice of many who were worn out with disease, or who shrank from the unhealthiness of the climate But the [illegible] of the legions and cavalry was [illegible]

[illegible] the troops, the men [illegible]

[illegible] cries, for to say nothing of [illegible] ural to that feeble soul, he was aware that the

ber of camp-followers, and of all slaves, the slaves of soldiers are the most unruly. So numerous a retinue of officers and personal friends would have been difficult to keep under restraint, even if controlled by the strictest discipline The crowd was made more unwieldy by Senators and Knights who came to meet him from the capital, some moved by fear, many by a spirit of adulation, others, and by degrees all, that they might not be left behind while the rest were going From the dregs of the people there thronged buffoons, players, and charioteers, known to Vitellius from their infamous compliance with his vices, for in such disgraceful friendships he felt a strange pleasure And now not only were the colonies and towns exhausted by having to furnish supplies, but the very cultivator of the soil and his lands, on which the harvests were now ripe, were plundered like an enemy's territory

88 There were many sanguinary encounters between the soldiers, for ever since the mutiny which broke out at Ticinum there had lingered a spirit of dissension between the legions and the auxiliary troops, though they could unite whenever they had to fight with the rustic population The most terrible massacre took place at the 7th milestone from Rome Vitellius was distributing to each soldier provisions ready dressed on the same abundant scale as the gladiators' rations, and the populace had poured forth, and spread themselves throughout the entire camp Some with the frolicsome humour of slaves robbed the careless soldiers by slily cutting their belts, and then asked them whether they were armed Unused to insult, the spirit of the soldiers resented the jest. Sword in hand [illegible]

Rome, as the soldiers pressed on in all directions It was to the forum that they chiefly directed their steps, anxious to behold the spot where Galba had fallen Nor were the men themselves a less frightful spectacle, bristling as they were with the skins of wild beasts, and armed with huge lances, while in their strangeness to the place they were embarrassed by the crowds of people, or tumbling [illegible]

use of their swords Besides, the tribunes and prefects were hurrying to and fro with formidable bodies of armed men.

89 Vitellius himself, mounted on a splendid charger, with military cloak and sword, advanced from the Mulvian bridge, driving the Senate and people before him, but deterred by the advice of his friends from marching into [illegible]

borne in front, and an equal number of colours from other legions on either side, then came the standards of twelve auxiliary squadrons, and the cavalry behind the ranks of the infantry Next came thirty four auxiliary cohorts, dis- [illegible]

tive companies, glittering with arms and decorations The ornaments and chains of the sol- [illegible]

shouts and acclamations, and, reluctant as he was to assume the name of Augustus, extorted from him a compliance as idle as his previous refusal

91. The country, ready to find a meaning in every circumstance, regarded it as an omen of [illegible]

Still at the consular elections he was present in company with the candidates like an ordinary citizen, and by shewing himself as a spectator in the theatre, as a partisan in the circus, he

man army as it marched out of the capital All strength had departed from their bodies, all energy from their spirits Slowly, and with thin ranks, the column moved along, their weapons feebly grasped, their horses spiritless The soldiers impatient of the heat, the dust, and the

of Cæcina, and by the indolence that had of late crept over him presuming on the exces

courage of the army Many believe that his fidelity had been shaken by the suggestions of Flavius Sabinus, who employed Rubrius Gallus as the bearer of communications intimating that the conditions of desertion would be held binding by Vespasian At the same time he was reminded of his hatred and jealousy of Fabius Valens Being inferior to his rival in influence with V tell

and sent a detachment of cavalry to occupy Cremona It was followed by the veteran troops of the 4th, 10th, and 16th legions, by the 5th and 22nd legions and the rear was brought up by the 21st (the Rapax) and the first Italian legion with the veteran troops of three British legions, and a chosen body of auxiliaries After the departure of Cæcina, Valens sent a despatch to the army which had been under his

mona, while a portion of the force was to proceed to Hostilia Cæcina himself turned aside to Ravenna, on the pretext that he wished to

moted by Vitellius from the command of a

tainly known whether he carried Cæcina with him, or whether (as is often the case with bad men, that they are like each other) both were actuated by the same evil motives

101 The historians of the period, who during the ascendancy of the Flavian family composed the chronicles of this war, have in the distorted representations of flattery assigned as the motives of these men a regard for peace and a love of their country For my own part I believe that, to say nothing of a natural fickle

them in the favour of Vitellius, made them accomplish his ruin Cæcina, having overtaken the legions, strove by every species of artifice to undermine the fidelity of the centurions and soldiers, who were devoted to Vitellius Bassus,

# BOOK III,

## *September–December*, A D 69

1 UNDER happier auspices and in a more loyal spirit the Flavianist leaders were discussing the plans of the campaign They had assembled at

bers are not even equal to those of the legions

have

2 In answer to this, Antonius was the most

distribution of a donative was imminent, and, having no money, he lavished everything else on the soldiers A contribution in the form of a tax was exacted from the freedmen of former Emperors in proportion to the number of their slaves Vitellius himself, thinking only how to squander, was building a stable for his chariot eers, was filling the circus with shows of gladia tors and wild beasts, and fooling away his money as if he had the most abundant supplies

95 Moreover Cæcina and Valens celebrated the birthday of Vitellius by exhibiting in every quarter of the city shows of gladiators on a vast and hitherto unparalleled scale He pleased the most infamous characters, but utterly dis gusted all the respectable citizens, by building altars in the Campus Martius, and performing funeral rites to Nero Victims were slaughtered and burnt in the name of the State the pile was kindled by the Augustales, an order of the priesthood dedicated by the Emperor Tiberius to the Julian family, just as Romulus had dedi cated one to king Tatius Within four months from the victory of Bedriacum, Asiaticus, the Emperor's freedman, was rivalling the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and all the old hateful names No one sought promotion in that court by in tegrity or diligence, the sole road to power was to glut the insatiable appetites of Vitellius by prodigal entertainments, extravagance, and riot The Emperor himself, thinking it enough to enjoy the present, and without a thought for the future, is believed to have squandered nine hundred million sesterces in a very few months Rome as miserable as she was great, afflicted in one year by an Otho and a Vitellius, what with the Vinii the Fabii, the Iceli, and the Asiatici, passed through all vicissitudes of in famy, till there came Mucianus and Marcellus, and different men rather than a different morality

96 The first revolt of which Vitellius received tidings was that of the 3rd legion despatches having been sent by Aponius Saturninus before he too attached himself to the party of Vespasian Aponius, however, agitated by the un expected occurrence, had not written all the particulars, and flattering friends softened down its import "It was," they said, "a mutiny of only a single legion, the loyalty of the other armies was unshaken" Vitellius in addressing the soldiers spoke to the same effect He in veighed against the lately disbanded Prætor ians, and asserted that false rumours were cir culated by them, and that there was no fear of a civil war The name of Vespasian he suppressed, and soldiers were dispersed through the city to check the popular gossip This more than anything else kept these rumours alive

97 Nevertheless Vitellius summoned auxili ary troops from Germany, Britain, and Spain tardily, however, and with an attempt to con ceal his necessities The legates and the prov inces were equally slow Hordeonius Flaccus, who was beginning to suspect the Batavians, feared that he should have a war on his own hands, and Vettius Bolanus had in Britain a province never very quiet, and both these of ficers were wavering in their allegiance Spain too, which then was without a governor of consular rank, showed no alacrity The legates of the three legions, equal in authority, and ready, while Vitellius was prosperous, to vie in obedience, stood aloof with one consent from his falling fortunes In Africa, the legion, and the auxiliary infantry levied by Clodius Macer and soon after disbanded by Galba, again en tered the service at the order of Vitellius, while all the rest of the youth promptly gave in their names Vitellius had ruled that province as proconsul with integrity and popularity, Vespasian s government had been infamous and odious The allies formed conjectures accord ingly as to the manner in which each would reign, but the result contradicted them

98 At first Valerius Festus, the legate, loyal ly seconded the zeal of the provincials Soon he began to waver, supporting Vitellius in his public dispatches and edicts, Vespasian in his secret correspondence, and intending to hold by the one or the other according as they might succeed Some soldiers and centurions, coming through Rhætia and Gaul were seized with letters and edicts from Vespasian, and on being sent to Vitellius were put to death More, how ever, eluded discovery, escaping either through the faithful protection of friends or by their own tact Thus the preparations of Vitellius became known, while the plans of Vespasian were for the most part kept secret At first the supineness of Vitellius was in fault, afterwards the occupation of the Pannonian Alps with troops stopped all intelligence And on the sea the prevalent Etesian winds favoured an east ward voyage, but hindered all return

99 At length Vitellius, appalled by the ir ruption of the enemy and by the menacing in telligence from every quarter, ordered Cæcina and Valens to take the field Cæcina was sent on in advance, Valens, who was just recovering from a severe illness, was delayed by weakness. Far different was the appearance of the Ger-

horts, and the native levies of Noricum, was sent to occupy the bank of the river Ænus, which flows between Rhætia and Noricum Neither hazarded an engagement, and the fate of the two parties was decided elsewhere

6 Antonius, as he hurried with the veteran soldiers of the cohorts and part of the cavalry to invade Italy, was accompanied by Arrius Varus, an energetic soldier Service under Corbulo, and

the first rank, yet the ill gotten prosperity of the moment afterwards turned to his destruction.

was not yet known They next attached to their party Patavium and Ateste There they learnt that three cohorts, belonging to Vitellius, and the Sebosian Horse had taken up a position at the Forum Alieni, where they had thrown a bridge across the river It was determined to seize the opportunity of attacking this force, unprepared as it was, for this fact had likewise been comm

ance Some indeed at once surrendered, but the greater part broke down the bridge, and thus cut off the advance of the pursuing enemy.

7 When this success became known, two legions the seventh

Aquila the legate A few days were there taken for rest, and Minucius Justus, prefect of the camp in the 7th legion, who ruled with more strictness than a civil war will permit, was withdrawn from the

posed, reflect honour on the cause, if it were thought that they had been friendly to Galba's rule, and that his party was again rising into strength.

8 The next question was, what place should be selected as the seat of war Verona seemed the most eligible, surrounded as it was with open plains, suitable for the action of cavalry, in which they were very strong At the same time it was thought that in wresting from Vitellius a colony so rich in resources there would be both profit and glory They secured Vicetia by simply passing through it Though in itself a small

uable aid, they served the cause by the example of their zeal and by their wealth, and the army thus occupied a position between Rhætia and the Julian Alps It was to cut off all passage at this point from the armies of Germany that they had barred this route All this was done either without the knowledge, or against the commands of Vespasian He gave orders that the army should halt at Aquileia and there await Mucianus, and these orders he supported by the argument, that as Ægypt, which com

ulate from the want of pay and provisions Mucianus in frequent letters advised the same policy, a victory that should cost neither blood nor tears, and other objects of the kind, were his

tances, the advice came only after the matter was decided

9 Then Antonius by a sudden movement fell upon the outposts of the enemy, and made trial of their courage in a slight skirmish, the combatants separating on equal terms Soon afterwards, Cæcina strongly fortified a camp between Hostilia, a village belonging to Verona, and the marshes of the river Tartarus, where his position his rear was covered by the

emy the early opportunities

sailing by

out by force of arms, until by his

the conditions of his

terval Aponius Saturninus came up with the 7th legion (Claudius') This legion was commanded by the tribune Vipstanus Messalla, *a man of* illustrious family, himself highly distinguished, the only man who had brought into that conflict an honest purpose To this army, which was far from equalling the forces of Vitellius (it in fact consisted of *three legions*), Cæcina *despatched a letter reproaching them with rashness* in again drawing the sword in a vanquished cause At the same time he extolled the valour of the German army, of Vitellius he *made* but some slight and common place mention without any abuse of Vespasian *Certainly he said* nothing *which could* either seduce or terrify the enemy The leaders of the Flavianist party, omitting all apology for their former fortune, at once took up a tone of high praise of Vespasian, of confidence in their cause, of security as to their *army*, and of hostility to Vitellius, *while hopes* were held out to the tribunes and centurions of retaining the privileges which Vitellius had granted them, and Cæcina was himself encouraged in no ambiguous terms to change sides These letters read to the assembled army increased their confidence, for Cæcina had written in a humble strain, as if he feared to offend Vespasian, while their own generals had used contemptuous language, meant, it would seem, [illegible] one [illegible] eighth by Numisius Lupu[illegible] make a demonstration of their strength, and to surround Verona with military lines It so happened that Galba's legion had had their work allotted to them on that *side the lines* which faced the enemy, and that some of the allied cavalry appearing in the distance were taken for the enemy, and excited a groundless panic They flew to arms, and as *the rage of the soldiers* at the supposed treachery fell upon T Ampius Flavianus, not from any proof of his guilt, but because he had been long unpopular, they clamoured for his death in a very whirlwind of passion, vociferating that he was the kinsman of Vitellius, that he had *betrayed* Otho, that he had embezzled the donative He could get no opportunity of defending himself, even though he stretched out his hands in entreaty, repeatedly prostrating *himself on* the ground, his garments *torn*, his breast and features *convulsed* with sobs This very conduct provoked afresh these furious men, for fear so excessive seemed to argue a consciousness of guilt Aponius was clamoured down by the shouts of the *soldiers*, when he attempted to address them, every one else was repulsed with noisy cries To Antonius *alone the soldiers' ears were open*, *for he had* eloquence, the art of soothing an angry crowd, and personal influence As the mutiny grew fiercer, and the soldiers went on from abuse and taunts to use their hands and their weapons, he ordered that *Flavianus should* be put in irons *The soldiers saw* what *a mockery it was, and* pushing aside those who were guarding the tribunal, were about to commit the most outrageous violence Antonius threw himself in the way with his sword drawn, protesting that he would die either by the *soldiers' hands or* by *his own*, *whenever he saw* any one who was known to him, or who was distinguished by any military decoration, he summoned him by name to his assistance Then he turned to the standards, and prayed to the gods of war, that *they would* inspire the armies *of the enemy* rather than *his own, with* such madness and such strife So the mutiny began to abate, and at the close of the day the men dispersed to their tents The same night Flavianus set out, and being met by *letters from Vespasian, was relieved from his perilous position*

11 The legions had caught the infection of mutiny, and next assailed Aponius Saturninus, legate of the army of Mœsia, this time the more furiously because their rage broke out, *not as* before, when they were *wearied* with labour and *military* toils, but at mid-day Some letters had been published, which Saturninus was believed to have written to Vitellius *If once they* had emulated each other in valour and obedience, *so now* there was a rivalry *in insubordination* and insolence, till *they clamoured* as violently for the execution of Aponius as they had for that of Flavianus The legions of Mœsia recalled how they had aided the vengeance of the Pannonian army, *while the soldiers* of Pannonia, *as if they* were absolved by the mutiny of others, took a delight *in* repeating their fault They hastened to the gardens in which Saturninus was passing his time, and it was not the *efforts* of Primus Antonius, Aponianus, *and* Messalla, though *they exerted* themselves to the uttermost, that saved him, so much as the obscurity of the hiding place in which he concealed himself, for he was hidden in the *furnace* of some baths that *happened* to be out *of use In a short time* he gave up his lictors, and retired to Patavium After the departure of the two men of consular rank, all power and authority over the two armies centred in Antonius *alone, his* colleagues giving way to *him, and the* soldiers

being strongly biased in his favour. There were those who believed that both these mutinies were set on foot by the intrigues of Antonius, in order that he might engross all the prizes of the war

12 Nor indeed was there less restlessness among the partisans of Vitellius, who were distracted by yet more fatal dissensions, springing, not from the suspicions of the common men, but from the treachery of the generals Lucilius Bassus, prefect of the Ravenna fleet finding that the troops wavered in purpose, from the fact that many were natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, provinces held for Vespasian, had attached them to the Flavianist party The night-time was chosen for accomplishing the treason because then, unknown to all the rest, the ringleaders alone might assemble at head-quarters. Bassus, moved by shame, or perhaps by fear, awaited the issue in his house The captains of the triremes rushed with a great outcry on the images of Vitellius, a few, who attempted to resist, were cut down, the great majority, with the usual love of change, were ready to join Vespasian Then Bassus came forward and openly sanctioned the movement The fleet appointed Cornelius Fuscus to be prefect, and he hastened to join them Lucilius was put under honourable arrest, and conveyed as far as Adria by the Liburnian ships, there he was thrown into prison by Vivennius Rufinus, prefect of a squadron of cavalry, which was there in garrison His however, were immediately struck off on the interference of Hormus, one of the Emperor's freedmen, for he too ranked among the generals

13 On the revolt of the fleet becoming known, Cæcina called together to head-quarters, which he purposely selected as being the most retired part of the camp, the chief centurions and some few soldiers, while the rest were dispersed on ous military duties Then he extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of his party, he told them that the fleet had changed sides, that they were straitened for supplies, that Gaul and Spain were against them, that in the capital there was nothing on which to rely thus making the worst of everything that concerned Vitellius Then, the conspirators present setting the example, and the rest being paralysed by the strangeness of the proceeding, he made them swear allegiance to Vespasian At the time the images of Vitellius were torn down, and persons were despatched to convey intelligence to Antonius But when this treason became noised abroad throughout the camp when the soldiers, hurrying back to head-quarters, saw the name of Vespasian written on the colours, and the images of Vitellius thrown upon the ground, first there was a gloomy silence, then all their rage burst out at once 'What,' they cried, has the glory of the army of Germany fallen so low, that without a battle, even without a wound, they should yield up hands ready bound and arms resigned to surrender? What legions indeed are these against us? Only the conquered The first and the twelfth, the sole strength of the Othonianist army, are not there, and even them we routed and crushed on these very plains, only that so many thousands of armed men like a herd of slaves for sale, might be given as a present to the exile Antonius Thus, forsooth the adhesion of one fleet would be worth eight legions So it pleases Bassus and Cæcina after robbing the Emperor of palaces gardens, and money, to rob the soldiers of their Emperor But we who have seen nothing of toil and bloodshed we who must be contemptible even to the Flavianists, what shall we answer to those who shall ask us of our victories and our defeats?'

14 Joining one and all in these cries by which each expressed his own vexation they proceeded following the lead of the fifth legion, to replace the images of Vitellius, and to put Cæcina in irons They elected to the command Fabius Fabullus, legate of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, prefect of the camp, they massacred the soldiers from three Liburnian ships, who happened to fall in their way, but who were perfectly ignorant and innocent of these proceedings, they then abandoned the camp, and, after breaking down the bridge, fell back on Hostilia and thence on Cremona, in order to effect a junction with the two legions the 1st Italica and the 21st Rapax, which, with a portion of the cavalry, Cæcina had sent on to occupy Cremona

15 On this becoming known to Antonius, he determined to attack the hostile armies while they were still distracted in feeling and divided in strength, before the generals could recover their authority, and the soldiers their subordination along with that confidence which would spring from the junction of the legions He concluded indeed that Fabius Valens had left the capital, and would hasten his march, on hearing of the treason of Cæcina, and Fabius was loyal to Vitellius, and not without some military skill At the same time he dreaded the approach of a vast body of Germans by way of Rhætia Vitellius had also summoned reinforcements

Britain, Gaul, and Spain, whose arms would have wasted like a wide spread pestilence, had not Antonius, fearful of this very danger, hurried on an engagement, and thus secured his victory He reached Bedriacum with his whole army in two days' march from Verona The next day, keeping the legions to fortify the position, he sent the auxiliary infantry into the territories of Cremona, ostensibly to collect supplies, really to imbue the soldiery with a taste for the spoils of civil war He himself advanced with 4000 cavalry as far as the 8th milestone from Bedriacum, in order that they might plunder with greater freedom The scouts, as usual, took a wider range

16 It was almost eleven o'clock, when a horseman arrived at full speed with the news, that the enemy were approaching that a small body was moving in front but that the stir and noise could be heard far and wide While Antonius was deliberating as to what was to be done, Arrius Varus, eager to do his best, charged with the bravest of the cavalry and drove back the Vitellianists, inflicting upon them some slight loss, as more came up, the fortune of the day changed, and those who had been most eager in the pursuit found themselves last in the flight This rash act did not originate with Antonius, he anticipated in fact what actually happened He now urged his soldiers to enter on the battle with a good heart, he then drew off the squadrons of his cavalry to the two flanks, leaving in the midst an open space in which to receive Varus and his troopers, the legions were ordered to arm themselves, signals were made over the country that every man should leave plundering, and join the battle at the nearest point Meanwhile the terror stricken Varus plunged into the disordered ranks of his friends, and brought a panic with him The fresh troops were driven back along with the wounded fugitives, confused by their own alarm and by the [illegible] of the road [illegible] omitted [illegible] a [illegible] elf [illegible] ose who were giving way, [illegible] ug gle was hardest, wherever there was a gleam of hope, there he was with his ready skill, his bold hand, his encouraging voice, easily recognized by the enemy, and a conspicuous object to his own men At last he was carried to such a pitch of excitement, that he transfixed with a lance a flying standard bearer, and then, seizing the standard, turned it towards the enemy Touched by the reproach, a few troopers, not more than a hundred in number, made a stand The locality favoured them, for the road was at that point particularly narrow, while the bridge over the stream which crossed it had been broken down, and the stream itself, with its varying channel and its precipitous banks, checked their flight. It was this necessity, or a happy chance, that restored the fallen fortunes of the party Forming themselves into strong and close ranks, they received the attack of the Vitellianists, who were now imprudently scattered These were at once overthrown Antonius pursued those that fled, and crushed those that encountered him Then came the rest of his troops, who, as they were severally disposed, plundered, made prisoners, or seized on weapons and horses Roused by the shouts of triumph, those who had lately been scattered in flight over the fields hastened to share in the victory

18 At the fourth milestone from Cremona glittered the standards of two legions, the Italica and the Rapax, which had been advanced as far as that point during the success achieved by the first movement of their cavalry But when fortune changed, they would not open their ranks, nor receive the fugitives, nor advance and themselves attack an enemy now exhausted by so protracted a pursuit and conflict Vanquished by accident, these men had never in their success valued their general as much as they now in disaster felt his absence The victorious cavalry charged the wavering line, the tribune Vipstanus Messalla followed with the auxiliary troops from Mœsia, whom, though hurriedly brought up, long service had made as good soldiers as the legionaries The horse and foot, thus mixed together, broke through the line of the legions The near neighbourhood of the fortifications of Cremona, while it gave more hope of escape, diminished the vigour of their resistance

19 Antonius did not press forward, for he thought of the fatigue and the wounds with which a battle so hard fought, notwithstanding its successful termination, must have disabled his cavalry and their horses As the shadows of evening deepened the whole strength of the Flavianist army came up They advanced amid heaps of dead and the traces of recent slaughter, and, as if the war was over, demanded that they should advance to Cremona, and receive the capitulation of the vanquished party, or take the place by storm This was the motive alleged, and it sounded well, but what every one said to himself was this "The colony, situated as it is on level ground, may be taken by

assault If we attack under cover of darkness, we shall be at least as bold, and shall enjoy more licence in plunder If we wait for the light, we shall be met with entreaties for peace, and in return for our toil and our wounds shall receive only the empty satisfaction of clemency and praise, but the wealth of Cremona will go into the purses of the legates and the prefects The soldiers have the plunder of a city that is stormed, the generals of one which capitulates " The centurions and tribunes were spurned away, that no man's voice might be heard, the troops clashed their weapons together, ready to break through all discipline, unless they were led as they wished

20 Antonius then made his way into the companies When his presence and personal authority had restored silence, he declared, "I would not snatch their glory or their reward from those who have deserved them so well Yet there is a division of duties between the army and its generals. Eagerness for battle becomes the soldiers, but generals serve the cause by forethought, by counsel, by delay oftener than by temerity As I promoted your victory to the utmost of my power by my sword and by my personal exertions, so now I must help you by prudence and by counsel, the qualities which belong peculiarly to a general What you will have to encounter is indeed perfectly plain There will be the darkness, the strange localities of the town the enemy inside the walls, and all possible facilities for ambuscades Even if the gates were wide open, we ought not to enter the place, except we had first reconnoitred it, and in the day-time Shall we set about storming the town when we have no means of seeing where the ground is level, what is the height of the walls, whether the city is to be assailed by our artillery and javelins, or by siege works and covered approaches? 'He then turned to individual soldiers, asking them whether they had brought with them their axes and spades and whatever else is used when towns are to be stormed On their admitting that they had not done so, "Can any hands,' he answered, "break through and undermine walls with swords and lances? And if it should be found necessary to throw up an embankment and to shelter ourselves under mantlets and hurdles, shall we stand baffled like a thoughtless mob, marvelling at the height of the towers and at the enemy's defences? Shall we not rather, by delaying one night, till our artillery and engines come up, take with us a strength that must prevail?" At the same time he sent the sutlers and camp-followers with the freshest of the cavalry to Bedriacum to fetch supplies and what ever else they needed

21 The soldiers, however, were impatient, and a mutiny had almost broken out, when some cavalry, who had advanced to the very walls of Cremona, seized some stragglers from the town, from whose information it was ascertained, that the six legions of Vitellius and the entire army which had been quartered at Hostilia had on that very day marched a distance of thirty miles, and having heard of the defeat of their comrades, were preparing for battle, and would soon be coming up This alarm opened the ears that had before been deaf to their general's advice. The 13th legion was ordered to take up its position on the raised causeway of the Via Postumia, supported on the left by the 7th (Galba's) which was posted in the plain, next came the 7th (Claudius ), defended in front by a field ditch such being the character of the ground On the right was the 8th legion, drawn up in an open space, and then the 3rd, whose ranks were divided by some thick brushwood Such was the arrangement of the eagles and the standards The soldiers were mingled in the darkness as accident had determined The Prætorian colours were close to the 3rd legion, the auxiliary infantry were stationed on the wings, the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear Sido and Italicus, the Suevian chieftains, with a picked body of their countrymen, manœuvred in the van

22 It would have been the best policy for the army of Vitellius to rest at Cremona, and with strength recruited by food and repose, to attack and crush the next day an enemy exhausted by cold and hunger but now, wanting a leader, and having no settled plan, they came into collision about nine o'clock at night with the Flavianist troops, who stood ready, and in order of battle Respecting the disposition of the Vitellianist army, disordered as it was by its fury and by the darkness, I would not venture to speak positively Some, however, have related, that on the right wing was the 4th legion (the Macedonian), that the 5th and 15th, with the veterans of three British legions (the 9th, 2nd and 20th), formed the centre, while the left wing was made up of the 1st, the 16th, and the 22nd Men of the legions Rapax and Italica were mingled with all the companies The cavalry and the auxiliaries chose their position themselves Throughout the night the battle raged in many forms, indecisive and fierce, destructive, first to one side, then to the other Courage, strength even the eye with its keenest sight, were of avail Both armies fought with the same

ons, the watch word, continually asked, became known, the colours were confused together, as *parties of combatants snatched them from the* enemy, and hurried them in this or that direction. The 7th legion, recently levied by Galba, was the hardest pressed Six centurions of the first rank were killed, and some of the standards taken; but the eagle was saved by Atilius Verus, the centurion of the first company, who, after making a great slaughter among the enemy, at last fell

23 The line was supported, as it began to waver, by Antonius, who brought up the Prætorians They took up the conflict, repulsed the enemy, and were then themselves repulsed The *troops of Vitellius had collected their artillery on* the raised causeway, where there was a free and open space for the discharge of the missiles, which at first had been scattered at random, and [illegible]

slain, and their names have consequently been lost, but the fact is undoubted Fortune favour- [illegible]

lengthened shadow fell from men and horses, and the enemy's missiles, incorrectly aimed at what seemed the substance, fell short, while the Vitellianists, who had the light shining on their faces, were unconsciously exposed to an enemy who were, so to speak, concealed while they aimed.

[illegible]

and encouragement, and all with hopes and promises "Why," he demanded of the legions [illegible]

cannot abide their attack or even their looks" So he spoke to each as he approached them. The third legion he addressed at greater length, reminding them of old and recent achievements, *how under Marcus Antonius they had defeated* the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and had lately discomfited the Sarmatians Then angrily turning to the Prætorians, "Clowns," said he, "unless you are victorious, what other general, what other camp will receive you? There *are your colours and your arms; defeat* is death, for disgrace you have exhausted" A shout was raised on all sides, and the soldiers of the third legion saluted, as is the custom in Syria, the rising sun.

25 A vague rumour thus arose, or was intentionally suggested by the general, that Mu*cianus had arrived, and that the two armies had* exchanged salutations. The men then charged as confidently as if they had been strengthened by fresh reinforcements, while the enemy's array was now less compact; for, as there was no [illegible]

they gave way, charged them with a heavy column; the loose ranks were at once broken, and, [illegible]

slaughter that followed was made particularly memorable through the murder of a father by his son *I will record the incident with the names,* on the authority of Vipstanus Messalla. Julius Mansuetus, a Spaniard, enlisting in the legion Rapax, had left at home a son of tender age [illegible]

ous accents he implored the spirit of his father [illegible]

these words he raised the body, opened a grave, and discharged the last duties for his father. This was noticed by those who were on the spot, then by many others; astonishment and indig- [illegible]

themselves.

26 When they reached Cremona a fresh work of vast difficulty presented itself During the war with Otho the legions of Germany had formed their camp round the walls of the city, round s camp had drawn an entrenchment and had again strengthened these defences At this sight the victorious army hesitated while the gener als doubted what orders they should give To assault with troops exhausted by the to l of a day and a night would be difficult and with no proper reserves might be perilous Should they return to Bedriacum, the fatigue of so long a march would be insupportable, and their victory would result in nothing To en trench a camp with the enemy so close at hand · as by a sudden sortie they m ght cause confusion among them while dis persed and busied with the work Above all they were afraid of their own soldiers who were of danger than delay Cautious measures they disliked, their rashness inspired them with hope, and eagerness for plunder out ched all the horrors of carnage wounds and bloodshed

27 Antonius himself was this way inclined, and he ordered the entrenched camp to be invest At first they fought from a distance with ar rows and stones, the Flavianists suffering most, as the enemy s missiles were aimed at them from superior height Antonius then assigned to legion the attack on some portion of the entrenchments and on one particular gate seek ing by this division of labour to distinguish the vardly from the brave and to stimulate his men by an honourable rivalry The 3rd and 7th leg ons took up a position close to the road from Bedriacum more to the right of the entrench ere stationed the 8th and the 7th (Clau d us) The 13th were carried by the impetuosi ty of their attack as far as the gate looking to wards Brixia There ensued a little delay while from the neighbouring fields some were collect ing spades and pickaxes, others hooks and lad ders Then raising their shields over their heads, advanced to the rampart in a dense testu do" Both used the arts of Roman warfare the Vitellians ts rolled down ponderous stones and drove spears and long poles into the broken ! tottering testudo till the dense array of sh elds was loosened and the ground was strewn with a vast number of lifeless and mangled bodies

28 Some hesitation had shewn itself when the generals, seeing that the weary troops would not listen to what seemed to them unmeaning encouragement, pointed to Cremona Whether this was as Messalla relates the device of Hor mus or whether Caius Plinius be the better authority when he charges it upon Antonius I cannot easily determine All I can say is this th t neither in Antonius nor in Hormus would this foulest of crimes have been a degeneracy from the character of their former lives Wounds or bloodshed no longer kept the men back from un dermining the rampart and battering the gates Supported on the shoulders of comrades and forming a second testudo they clambered up and seized the weapons and even the hands of the enemy The unhurt and the wounded, the half dead and the dying were mingled together with every incident of slaughter and death in every form

29 The fiercest struggle was ma ntained by the 3rd and 7th legions and Antonius in per son with some chosen auxilia ries concentrated his efforts on the same point The Vitellianists unable to resist the combined and resolute at tack and finding that their missiles glided off the testudo at last threw the engine itself on the assa lants for a moment it broke and over whelmed those on whom it fell, but it drew aft er it in its fall the battlements and upper part of the rampart At the same time an adjoining tower yielded to the volleys of stones and while the 7th legion in wedge like array was endeav ouring to force an entrance, the 3rd broke down the gate with axes and swords All authors are agreed that Caius Volus us, a soldier of the 3rd legion entered first Beating down all who op posed him he mounted the rampart waved his hand and shouted aloud that the camp was tak en The rest of the legion burst in, while the troops of Vitellius were seized with panic and threw themselves from the rampart The entire space between the camp and the walls of Cre mona was filled with slain

30 Difficulties of another kind presented themselves in the lofty walls of the town its stone towers its iron barred gates, in the garri son who stood brandishing their weapons in its numerous population devoted to the interests of Vitellius, and in the vast conflux from all parts of Italy which had assembled at the fa r regularly held at that time The besieged found a source of strength in these large numbers the assailants an incentive in the prospect of booty Anton us gave orders that fire should instantly be set to the finest buildings without the city to see whether the inhab tants of not be induced by the loss of their transfer their allegiance Some walls, which overtopped the

filled with the bravest of his soldiers, who, by hurling beams, tiles, and flaming missiles, dislodged the defenders from the ramparts

31 The legions now began to form themselves into a 'testudo,' and the other troops to discharge volleys of stones and darts, when the courage of the Vitellianists began to flag The higher their rank, the more readily they succumbed to fortune, fearing that when Cremona had fallen quarter could no longer be expected, and that all the fury of the conqueror would be turned, not on the penniless crowd, but on the tribunes and centurions, by whose slaughter something was to be gained The common soldiers, careless of the future and safer in their obscurity, still held out Roaming through the streets or concealed in the houses they would not sue for peace even when they had abandoned the contest The principal officers of the camp removed the name and images of Vitellius, Cæcina, who was still in confinement, they released from his chains, imploring him to plead their cause When he haughtily rejected their suit, they entreated him with tears and it was indeed the last aggravation of misery, that many valiant men should invoke the aid of a traitor Then they displayed from the walls the olive branches and chaplets of suppliants, and when Antonius had ordered that the discharge of missiles should cease, they brought out the eagles and standards Then followed with eyes bent on the ground, a dismal array of unarmed men The conquerors had gathered round, at first they heaped reproaches on them and pointed at them their weapons then seeing how they offered their cheeks to insulting blows, how, with all their high spirit departed, they submitted, as vanquished men, to every indignity, it suddenly occurred to their recollection, that these were the very soldiers who but shortly before had used with moderation their victory at Bedriacum Yet, when Cæcina the consul, conspicuous in his robes of state and with his train of lictors, came forward thrusting aside the crowd, the victors were fired with indignation, and reproached him with his tyranny, his cruelty, and, so hateful are such crimes, even with his treason Antonius checked them, gave him an escort, and sent him to Vespasian

32 M[illegible] w[illegible] ju[illegible] [illegible] their fury was mitigated by the entreaties of the generals Antonius summoned them to an assembly, extolled the conquerors, spoke kindly to the conquered, but said nothing either way of Cremona Over and above the innate love of plunder, there was an old feud which made the army bent on the destruction of the inhabitants It was generally believed that in the war with Otho, as well as in the present, they had supported the cause of Vitellius Afterwards, when the 13th legion had been left to build an amphitheatre, with the characteristic insolence of a city popula[illegible] they had wantonl[illegible] The ill [illegible] iatorial [illegible] circums[illegible] second t[illegible] war, and by the fact that they had supplied the Vitellianists with provisions in the field, and that some of their women, taken by party zeal into the battle, had there been slain The occurrence of the fair filled the colony, rich as it always was, with an appearance of still greater wealth The other generals were unnoticed, Antonius from his success and high reputation was observed of all He had hastened to the baths to wash off the blood, and when he found fault with the temperature of the water, an answer was heard, 'that it would soon be warm enough" Thus the words of a slave brought on him the whole odium of having given the signal for firing the town, which was indeed already in flames

33 Forty thousand armed men burst into Cremona and with them a body of sutlers and camp-followers, yet more numerous and yet more abandoned to lust and cruelty Neither age nor rank were any protection from indiscriminate slaughter and violation Aged men and women past their prime, worthless as booty, were dragged about in wanton insult Did a grown up maiden or youth of marked beauty fall in their way, they were torn in pieces by the violent hands of ravishers, and in the end the destroyers themselves were provoked into mutual slaughter Men, as they carried off for themselves coin or temple-offerings of massive gold, were cut down by others of superior strength Some, scorning what met the eye, searched for hidden wealth, and dug up buried treasures, applying the scourge and the torture to the owners In their hands were flaming torches, which, as soon as they had carried out the spoil, they wantonly hurled into the gutted houses and plundered temples In an army which included such varieties of language and character an army comprising Roman citizens, allies, and foreigners, there was every kind of lust, each man had a law of his own, and nothing was forbidden For four days Cremona satisfied the plunderers When all things else, sacred

and profane, were settling down into the flames, the temple of Mephitis outside the walls alone remained standing, saved by its situation or by divine interposition

34 Such was the end of Cremona, 286 years after its foundation It was built in the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Cornelius Scipio, when Hannibal was threatening Italy, as a protection against the Gauls from beyond the Padus, or against any other sudden invader from the Alps From the number of settlers, the conveniences afforded by the rivers, the fertility of the soil, and the many connexions and inter-

Ashamed of the atrocious deed, and aware of

indeed had been rendered valueless to the soldiers by a general agreement throughout Italy, which rejected with loathing the purchase of such slaves A massacre then began, when this was known, the prisoners were secretly ransomed by their friends and relatives The remaining inhabitants soon returned to Cremona; the temples and squares were restored by the munificence of the burghers, and Vespasian gave his exhortations

35 The soil poisoned with blood forbade the enemy to remain long by the ruins of the buried city They advanced to the third mile-

pinius Montanus, prefect of a cohort, to Germany, as the one was an Æduan, the other a Trever, and both were Vitellianists, they would be a proof of the success At the same time the passes of the Alps were occupied with troops,

vigorate the soldiers by encouraging speeches or warlike exercises; he did not keep himself before the eyes of the people Buried in the shades of his gardens, like those sluggish animals which, if you supply them with food, lie motionless and torpid, he had dismissed with the same forgetfulness the past, the present, and the future While he thus lay wasting his powers in sloth among the woods of Aricia, he was startled by the treachery of Lucilius Bassus and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna Then came the news about Cæcina, and he heard with a satisfaction mingled with distress, first, that he had revolted, and then, that he had been put in irons by the army In that dull soul joy was more powerful than apprehension In great exultation he returned to Rome, and before a crowded assembly of the people heaped praises on the dutiful obedience of the soldiers He ordered Publius Sabinus, prefect of the Prætorian Guard, to be thrown into prison because of his friendship with Cæcina, and substituted in his place Alfenius Varus

37 He then addressed the Senate in a speech of studied grandiloquence, and was extolled by the Senators with elaborate adulation A savage resolution against Cæcina was moved by

benefactor, and seemed to deplore the wrongs of Vitellius, while they uttered their private

name of Vespasian A man was found, who,

obtained an infamous notoriety Of this act I

quiring the cause, he was told that Cæcina Tuscus was entertaining a large party, of whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished Oth-

er particulars were given with much exaggera

their days in merriment while the Emperor was sick As soon as it was sufficiently clear to those who keenly watch the angry moods of princes, that Vitellius was exasperated, and that Blæsus might be destroyed the part of the informer was intrusted to Lucius Vitellius An unworthy jealousy made him the enemy of Blæsus, whose illustrious character raised him far above one who

sion, or because I am anxious for myself, it is for a brother and for a brother's children that I *have come hither with my prayers and tears* It is idle to fear Vespasian, when there are so many legions of Germany, so many provinces with their valour and their loyalty, and lastly, so vast an extent of sea and land with enormous distances, to keep him from us In the capital, in the very bosom of the empire, there is the foe of whom we must beware, a foe who boasts of

39 Vitellius, after wavering between his *guilty purpose and his fears, dreading lest to* postpone the murder of Blæsus might hasten

even heard to utter a most brutal speech, in which (I will relate the very words) he boasted that he had feasted his eyes on the spectacle of his enemy's death Besides his noble birth

leading men, who were beginning to despise Vitellius, he persevered in rejecting their solicitations A righteous man and a lover of peace who coveted no sudden elevation, much less the throne, he could not escape being thought to deserve it

40 Meanwhile Fabius Valens, who was mov

gence of the betrayal of the Ravenna fleet by Lucilius Bassus Had he hastened the march which he had then begun, he might have come up with Cæcina while still undecided, or have

to hurry on by unfrequented paths to Hostilia or Cremona Others thought that he should summon the Prætorian cohorts from Rome and then force his way with a strong body of troops

on the one hand, nor cautious enough on the other

41 He wrote to Vitellius asking for aid Three cohorts with some British cavalry arrived, a force too numerous to elude observation, too small to force its way Even amidst such perils Valens could not keep himself clear of the infa

force, even had it been thoroughly loyal, could not have made his way through the enemy, and the loyalty they had brought with them *was not beyond suspicion* *Yet shame and re*spect for the presence of their general held them in check, no lasting restraint with men who loved danger and were careless of disgrace Moved by this apprehension, Valens, while he retained a few attendants whom adversity had not changed, sent on the infantry to Ariminum and ordered the cavalry to cover his rear He then himself made his way to Umbria, and thence to Etruria, where, having learnt the *issue of the battle of Cremona, he conceived* a plan not wanting in vigour, and which, had it succeeded, would have had terrible results This was to seize some ships, to land on some part of Gallia Narbonensis, to rouse Gaul with its ar

mies as well as the tribes of Germany, and so to kindle a fresh war.

invested the place by sea and land His troops occupied the plains of Umbria and that portion of the Picentine territory that is washed by the Adriatic, and now the whole of Italy was divid

cules Monœcus Near this place was stationed Marius Maturus, procurator of the Maritime Alps, who was loyal to Vitellius, and who,

tion to the throne

place, and because he was respected by the Prætorians, in which force he had once been a tribune The inhabitants themselves, favouring a

and the rest chose to remain behind and swear allegiance to Vespasian For Valens indeed the open sea was safer than the coast or the towns, yet, all uncertain about the future, and knowing rather what he must avoid than what he could trust, he was thrown by adverse weather on the Stœchades, islands off Massilia There he was captured by some Liburnian ships, dispatched by Paullinus.

44 Valens once captured, everything turned to swell the resources of the conqueror, the lead was taken in Spain by the 1st legion (the "Adjutrix"), whose recollections of Otho made them hate Vitellius, they drew with them the 6th and

exchanging for another ruler one whom they knew already

throne, when, by the treacherous capture of king Caractacus, she was regarded as having

man troops, and our auxiliary infantry and cavalry, after fighting with various success, con

tary infantry and cavalry, and banks of the Danube. They were

*ing to destroy the camp of the legions, but Mucianus sent the 6th legion against them, for he knew of the victory of Cremona, and he feared this double pressure of barbarian power with Dacians and Germans invading Italy from opposite sides* We were helped, as often before, by the good fortune of the Roman people, which brought to the spot Mucianus with the armies of the East, and by the decisive settlement which in the meantime was effected at Cremona Fonteius Agrippa was removed from Asia (which province he had governed as proconsul for a year) to Mœsia, and had some troops given him from the army of Vitellius That this army should be dispersed through the provinces and closely occupied with foreign wars, was sound policy and essential to peace

47 All other nations were equally restless A sudden outbreak had been excited in Pontus by *a barbarian slave who had before commanded the royal fleet This was Anicetus, a freedman of Polemon, once a very powerful personage,* who, when the kingdom *was converted* into a Roman province, ill brooked the change Accordingly he raised in the name of Vitellius the tribes that border on Pontus, bribed a number of very needy adventurers by the hope of plunder and, at the head of a force by no means contemptible, made a sudden attack on the old and famous city of Trapezus founded by the Greeks on the farthest shore of the Pontus There he destroyed a cohort once a part of the royal contingent They had afterwards received the privi*leges of citizenship,* and while they carried their *arms and banners in Roman fashion,* they still retained the indolence and licence of the Greek Anicetus also set fire to the fleet, and, as the sea was not guarded, escaped, for Mucianus had brought up to Byzantium the best of the Liburnian ships and all the troops The barbarians even insolently scoured the sea in hastily constructed vessels of their own called "camaræ," built with narrow sides and broad bottoms and joined together without fastenings of brass or iron Whenever the water is rough, they raise the bulwarks with additional planks according to the increasing height of the waves, till the vessel is *covered in like a house* Thus they *roll about amid the billows,* and *as they have a prow at both extremities alike and a convertible arrangement of oars, they may be paddled in one direction or another indifferently* and without risk

48 The matter attracted the attention of Vespasian, and induced him to dispatch some veterans from the legions under Virdius Geminus, a *tried soldier* Finding the enemy in disorder and dispersed in the eager pursuit of plunder, he attacked them, and drove them to their ships *Hastily fitting out a fleet of Liburnian ships,* he pursued Anicetus, and overtook him at the mouth of the river Cohibus, where he was protected by the king of the Sedochezi, whose alliance he had secured by a sum of money and other presents This prince at first endeavoured to protect the suppliant by a threat of hostilities, when, however, the choice was presented to him between war and the profit to be derived from treachery, he consented, with the characteristic perfidy of barbarians, to the destruction of Anicetus, and delivered up the refugees So ended this servile war Amidst the joy of this success, while everything was prosperous beyond his hopes tidings of the victory of Cremona reached Vespasian in Ægypt This made him hasten his advance to Alexandria *For, now that the army of Vitellius was shattered, he sought to apply the pressure of famine to the capital, which is always dependent on foreign supplies* He was indeed also preparing to invade by sea and land the province of Africa, which lies on the same line of coast, intending by thus closing the supplies of corn to cause famine and dissension among the enemy

49 While with this world wide convulsion the Imperial power was changing hands, the conduct of Primus Antonius, after the fall of Cremona, was by no means as blameless as before Either he believed that the necessities of the war had been satisfied, and that *all else would follow easily, or, perhaps, success, working on such a temperament,* developed his latent pride, rapacity, and other vices He swept through Italy as if it were a conquered country, and caressed the legions as if they were his own by all his words and acts he sought to pave for himself the way to power To imbue the army with a spirit of licence, he offered to the legions the commissions of the centurions killed in the war By their vote the most turbulent men were elected *The soldiers in fact were not under the control of the generals, but the generals were themselves constrained to follow the furious impulses of the soldiers.* These mutinous *proceedings, so ruinous to discipline* Antonius soon turned to his own profit, regardless of the near approach of Mucianus, a neglect more fatal than any contempt for Vespasian.

50 As winter was approaching, and the low country was flooded by the Padus, the army marched on without its heavy baggage *The standards and eagles of the victorious legions,*

the old and wounded soldiers, and even many effective men, were left at Verona The auxiliary infantry and cavalry, with some picked troops from the legions, appeared sufficient for [illegible]

[illegible] of affairs was in the hands of Annius Bassus, the [illegible] Bassus, [illegible] y for [illegible] orces were added the *elite* of the marines of the Ravenna fleet, who demanded permission to serve in the legions The crews were made up with Dalmatians The army and generals halted at [illegible]

[illegible] supposed that the Apennines were occupied [illegible]

[illegible] ative was called They had provided [illegible] money nor corn and they were embarrassed by the general impatience and rapacity, for what they might have obtained was plundered

51 I have the very highest authority for asserting, that there was among the conquerors such an impious disregard of right and wrong, that a private cavalry soldier declared he had slain his brother in the late battle, and claimed a reward from the generals The common law of humanity on the one hand forbade them to reward this act of blood the necessities of the war on the other forbade them to punish it They put him off, on the ground that the obligation was too great to be immediately discharged Nothing more is recorded In the earlier civil wars indeed a similar horror had occurred In the battle with Cinna at the Janiculum, a soldier in Pompey's army, as Sisenna tells us, slew his own brother, and on discovering the horrible deed he had committed, destroyed himself So much more earnest among our ancestors was the honour paid to virtue, and the remorse that waited on crime These and like instances, drawn from the recollections of the past, I shall mention not irrelevantly, whenever the subject and the occasion shall call for some example of goodness or some solace in the presence of evil

52 Antonius and the other generals of the party judged it expedient to send forward the cavalry and explore the whole of Umbria for [illegible]

[illegible] na, while they were to [illegible] sea with convoys Some there were among the [illegible] delays for Anto- [illegible]

[illegible] Rome in person he should lose all share in the [illegible]

[illegible] operations at another on the advantage of delay, and with expressions so worded that he could, according to the event, repudiate a dis- [illegible]

[illegible] violent in language, and was unaccustomed to obey He wrote a letter to Vespasian in terms more arrogant than should be addressed to an Emperor, and not without implied reproach against Mucianus "It was I," he said, "who brought into the field the legions of Pannonia, my instigations roused the generals in Mœsia, my courageous resolution forced a passage [illegible] seized on Italy and cut off [illegible]

mona the war must be answerable, the civil strifes of former days cost the State more terrible loss and the overthrow of many cities Not with messages and letters, but with my arm and my sword, have I served my Emperor I would not seek to hinder the renown of those who in the meanwhile have reduced Asia to tranquillity They had at heart the peace of Mœsia, I the safety and security of Italy By my earnest representations Gaul and Spain the most powerful region of the world, have been won for Vespasian But all my efforts have been wasted, if they alone who have not shared the peril obtain its rewards ' The meaning of all this did not escape Mucianus and there arose a deadly feud, cherished by Antonius with frankness, by Mucianus with reserve, and therefore with the greater bitterness

54 Vitellius, after his power had been shattered at Cremona, endeavoured to suppress the tidings of the disaster, and by this foolish attempt at concealment he put off not indeed his troubles, but only the application of the remedy Had he avowed and discussed his position, he had some chance, some strength, left whereas, on the contrary, when he pretended that all was prosperous, he aggravated his perils by falsehood A strange silence was observed in his presence as to the war, throughout the country all discussion was prohibited, and so, many who would have told the truth had it been allowed, finding it forbidden, spread rumours exaggerating the calamity The generals of the enemy failed not to magnify the report of their strength, for they sent back any spies of Vitellius whom they captured, after conducting them round the camp in order that they might learn the force of the victorious army All of these persons Vitellius questioned in secret, and then ordered that they should be put to death Singular bravery was displayed by a centurion, Julius Agrestis, who, after several interviews, in which he had in vain endeavoured to rouse Vitellius to courage, prevailed on the Emperor to send him in person to see what was the strength of the enemy's resources, and what had happened at Cremona He did not seek to escape the notice of Antonius by making his observations in secret, but avowed the Emperor's instructions and his own purpose, and asked leave to see every thing Persons were sent to shew him the field of battle, the remains of Cremona, and the captured legions He then made his way back to Vitellius, and when the Emperor denied the truth of the intelligence which he brought, and even charged him with having been bribed, "Since," he replied, "you require some decisive proof, and I can no longer serve you in any other way either by my life or death, I will give you a proof which you can believe " So he departed, and confirmed his statement by a voluntary death Some say that he was slain by order of Vitellius, but they bear the same testimony to his loyalty and courage

55 Vitellius, who seemed like a man roused from slumber, ordered Julius Priscus and Alfenius Varus, with fourteen of the Prætorian cohorts and the entire force of cavalry, to occupy the Apennines A legion of troops drafted from the fleet followed So many thousand troops, comprising the picked men and horses of the army, had they been under the direction of a different general, would have been quite equal even to aggressive operations The rest of the Prætorian cohorts were entrusted to Lucius Vitellius, brother of the Emperor, for the defence of the capital Vitellius, while he abated nothing of his habitual indulgence, with a precipitancy prompted by alarm, anticipated the elections, at which he appointed consuls for several years With a profuse liberality, he granted treaties to allies, and the rights of Latin citizenship to foreigners, some he relieved by the remission of tribute, others by exemptions, in a word utterly careless of the future, he mutilated the resources of the Empire. But the mob was attracted by the magnificence of his bounties. The most foolish bought these favours with money, the wise held that to be invalid, which could neither be given nor received without ruin to the State Yielding at length to the importunity of the army, which had taken up its position at Mevania, and accompanied by a numerous train of senators, into which many were brought by ambition and more by fear, he entered the camp, undecided in purpose and at the mercy of faithless counsels

56 While he was haranguing his troops (marvellous to relate) such a multitude of ill-omened birds flew over him, as to obscure with a dark cloud the light of day There occurred another terrible presage. A bull escaped from the altar, scattered the preparations for sacrifice and was finally slain far from the spot where the victims are usually struck down But the most portentous spectacle of all was Vitellius himself ignorant of military matters and without forethought in his plans, even asking others about the order of march, about the business of reconnoitring and the discretion to be used in pushing on or protracting the campaign, betraying in his countenance and gait his alarm at every

fresh piece of intelligence, and finally drinking to intoxication At last, weary of the camp, and having received tidings of the defection of the fleet at Misenum, he returned to Rome, trembling at every new disaster, but reckless of the final result For though it was open to him to

supplies, yet, by dividing his forces, he abandoned to destruct

tellius for the Emperor's ears were so formed, that all profitable counsels were offensive to him, and that he would hear nothing but what would please and ruin

57 The fleet at Misenum so much can be done in times of civil discord by the daring of even a single man, was drawn into revolt by

naris, a man neither firm in his loyalty, nor energetic in his treason Apinius Tiro who had filled the office of prætor, and who then happened to be at Minturnæ, offered to head the revolt By these men the colonies and municipal towns were drawn into the movement, and as Puteoli was particularly zealous for Vespasian, while Capua on the other hand remained loyal to Vitellius, they introduced their municipal jealousy into the civil war Claudius Julianus who had lately exercised an indulgent rule over the fleet at Misenum was selected by Vitellius to soothe the irritation of the soldiery He was supported by a city cohort and a troop of gladiators whose chief officer he was As soon as the two camps were pitched, Julianus, without much hesitation, went over to the side of Vespa

of infantry and 500 cavalry to encounter the danger that now threatened him on the side of

ordered the tribes to be convoked, and to those who gave in their names administered the oath of service As the numbers were excessive, he divided the business of enrolment between the consuls He required the Senators to furnish a prescribed number of slaves and a certain weight of silver The Roman Knights offered their services and money and even the freedmen voluntarily sought the privilege of doing the same This pretence of loyalty, dictated at first by fear, passed into enthusiasm and many expressed

and it is a fact that in the moment of terror the counsels of the wise and the voice of the rabble are listened to with equal respect But as all movements that originate in thoughtless im

in favour of the Flavianists The Samnites, the Peligni, and the Marsi, roused themselves, jealous at having been anticipated by Campania, and, as men who serve a new master, were energetic in all the duties of war The army however, was much distressed by bad weather in its passage over the Apennines, and since they could hardly struggle through the snow, though their march was unmolested, they perceived what danger they would have had to encounter, had not Vitellius been made to turn back by that good fortune, which not less often than the wisdom of their counsels helped the Flavianist generals Here they fell in with Petilius Cerialis, who had escaped the sentries of Vitel

lius by a rustic disguise and by his knowledge of the country There was a near relationship between Cerialis and Vespasian, and he was not without reputation as a soldier He was therefore admitted to rank among the generals It has been said by many that the means of escape were likewise open to Flavius Sabinus and to Domitian, and indeed messengers, dispatched by Antonius, contrived under various disguises to make their way to them, offering them a place of refuge and a protecting force Sabinus pleaded his ill health, unsuited to toil and adventure Domitian did not want the courage, but he feared that the guards whom Vitellius had set over him though they offered to accompany him in his flight, had treacherous designs And Vitellius himself, out of a regard for his own connexions, did not meditate any cruelty against Domitian

60 The Flavianist generals on their arrival at Carsulæ took a few days for repose, while the eagles and standards of the legions were coming up Carsulæ appeared a good position for an encampment, for it commanded an extensive prospect, provisions could be safely brought up, and there were in its rear several very wealthy towns They also calculated on interviews with the Vitellianists, who were only ten miles distant, and on the chances of defection The soldiers were dissatisfied with this prospect, and wished for victory rather than for peace They would not even await the arrival of their own legions, whom they looked upon as sharers in the spoil rather than in the dangers of the campaign Antonius summoned them to an assembly, and explained to them that Vitellius had still forces, which would waver in their loyalty if they had time to reflect, but would be fierce foes if driven to despair " The opening of a civil war must," he said, be left to chance, the final triumph is perfected by wise counsels and skill The fleet of Misenum and the fairest portion of Campania have already revolted, and out of the whole world Vitellius has nothing left but the country between Tarracina and Narnia From our victory at Cremona sufficient glory has accrued to us, and from the destruction of that city only too much disgrace Let us not be eager to capture rather than to preserve the capital Greater will be our reward, far higher our reputation, if we secure without bloodshed the safety of the Senate and of the people of Rome' By this and similar language their impatience was allayed

61. Soon after, the legions arrived Alarmed by the report of this increase to the army, the Vitellianist cohorts began to waver, no one urged them to fight, many urged them to change sides, each more eager than the other to hand over his company or troop, a present to the conqueror, and a source of future advantage to himself From these men it was ascertained that Interamna, situated in the adjoining plain, was occupied by a garrison of 400 cavalry Varus was at once dispatched with a lightly equipped force, and cut to pieces a few who attempted to resist, the greater number threw down their arms, and begged for quarter Some fled back into the camp, and spread panic everywhere by exaggerated reports of the courage and strength of the enemy, seeking thus to mitigate the disgrace of having lost the position Among the Vitellianists treason went unpunished, all loyalty was subverted by the rewards of desertion, and nothing was left but emulation in perfidy There were numerous desertions among the tribunes and centurions the common soldiers remained obstinately faithful to Vitellius, till Priscus and Alfenius, deserting the camp and returning to Vitellius, relieved all from any shame they might feel at being traitors

62 About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death while in confinement at Urbinum His head was displayed to the Vitellianist cohorts, that they might not cherish any further hope, for they generally believed that Valens had made his way into Germany, and was there bringing into the field veteran as well as newly levied armies The bloody spectacle reduced them to despair, and it was amazing how the army of Vespasian welcomed in their hearts the destruction of Valens as the termination of the war Valens was a native of Anagnia, and belonged to an Equestrian family, he was a man of loose character, but of no small ability, who sought to gain by profligacy a reputation for elegance In the theatricals performed by young men during the reign of Nero, at first apparently from compulsion, afterwards of his own free choice, he repeatedly acted in the farces, with more cleverness than propriety While legate of a legion, he first supported, then slandered, Verginius Fonteius Capito he murdered, either after he had corrupted him, or because he had failed to do so Though a traitor to Galba he was loyal to Vitellius, and gained a lustre from the perfidy of others

63 Finding all their hopes cut off, the troops of Vitellius, intending to pass over to the side of the conqueror, but to do so with honour, marched down with their standards and colours into the plains beneath Narnia The army of

Vespasian, prepared and equipped as if for ac

Antonius addressed them kindly,

messages to Vitellius, offering him personal safety, the enjoyment of wealth, and a quiet retreat in Campania, provided he would lay down his arms and surrender himself and his children to Vespasian Mucianus also wrote to him to the same effect, and Vitellius was often disposed to trust these overtures, and even discussed the number of his

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64 The leading men in the State had secret conferences with Flavius Sabinus, prefect of the city, urging him to secure a share in the credit of the victory "You have," they said, "a force of your own in the city cohorts, the cohorts of the watch will not fail you, and there are also our own slaves, there is the prestige of the party, there is the fact that to the victorious everything is easy You should not yield the glory of the war to Antonius and Varus Vitellius has but a few cohorts, and they are alarmed by gloomy tidings from every quarter The feelings of the people are easily swayed, and, if you put yourself at their head, there will soon be the same flatteries ready for Vespasian Vitellius even in prosperity was unequal to his position, and he is proportionately unnerved by disaster The merit of hav

65 Old and infirm as he was, it was with anything but eagerness that he listened to these suggestions Some indeed assailed him with dark insinuations, implying that from motives of envy and rivalry he was seeking to retard the elevation of his brother It was true, that while both were in a private station, Flavius Sabinus, who was the elder, was the superior of Vespasian in influence and in wealth He was believed indeed to have sustained the failing credit of his brother, while taking a mortgage of his house and land

from bloodshed and slaughter, and that for this reason he had held frequent conferences with Vitellius to discuss the question of peace and the cessation of hostilities upon certain conditions

witnesses in Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus Their looks were noted by the more distant spectators, the expression of Vi-

so arrogant as to tolerate such a subject as Vitellius Even the vanquished would not endure

pasian has once seized the throne, neither he, nor his friends, nor even his armies, will feel themselves secure till all rivalry has been extinguished Fabius Valens, captive as he was, and reserved against the chance of disaster, was yet too formidable to them, and certainly Primus, Fuscus, and Mucianus, who exhibits the temper of his party, will not be allowed power over Vi

than that upon which we are voluntarily rushing If we are conquered, we must die; we must die, if we capitulate All that concerns us is this, shall we draw our last breath amidst scorn and insult, or in a valiant struggle?"

67 *The ears of Vitellius were deaf to manly* counsels His whole soul was overwhelmed by

a few days before, escaped by her opportune

ber, after hearing of the defection of the legion and the auxiliary infantry which had surrendered at Narnia, he left the palace, clad in

sion The greetings of the people were flattering, but ill suited to the time, the soldiers preserved an ominous silence

68 *There could hardly be a man so careless of* human interests as not to be affected by this spectacle There was the Roman Emperor, lord but a few days before of the whole human race, leav*ing the seat of his power, and passing through* the midst of his people and his capital, to abdicate his throne. Men had never before seen or heard of such an event Cæsar, the Dictator, had fallen by sudden violence, Caligula by secret

len in battle In an assembly of his own people, and in the midst of his own soldiers, with the very women of his family looking on, Vitellius stood and spoke a few words suitable to the sad conjuncture "He gave way," he said, "for the sake of peace, for the sake of his country, let them only remember him, and think with compassion of his brother, of his wife, of his young and innocent children " At the same time he

it to the Consul, Cæcilius Simplex, who was standing by him, as if to indicate that he sur-

power in the Temple of Concord, and of betaking himself to his brother's house Louder shouts here met him from the crowd, which hindered him from entering a private house, and invited him to return to the palace Every other route *was closed, and the only one open was one* which led into the Via Sacra Then in utter perplexity he returned to the palace The rumour that he had renounced the Imperial dignity had preceded him thither, and Flavius Sabinus had sent written orders to the tribunes of the cohorts to keep their soldiers under restraint

69 Then, as if the whole State had passed into the hands of Vespasian, the leading men of the Senate, many of the Equestrian order, with

to retreat, and every one, fearing for himself, should the Vitellianists come upon them while they were scattered and comparatively weak,

*danus, by some of the most determined of the* Vitellianists From this unforeseen collision re-

miscellaneous body of soldiery, and some Senators and Knights It is not easy to give the names of these persons, since after the triumph of Vespasian many pretended to have rendered this service to his party. There were even women who braved the dangers of the siege, the most conspicuous among them being Verulana Gratilla, who was taken thither, not by the love of children or kindred, but by the fascination of war. The Vitellianists kept but a careless watch

less succour arrived, they must be reduced to distress The night passed so quietly that he might have quitted the place without loss, for, brave as were the soldiers of Vitellius in encountering danger, they were far from attentive to the laborious duties of watching Besides this, the

sudden fall of a winter storm baffled both sight and hearing.

he said, 'been a mere show and pretence of abdicating the Empire, with the view of deceiv

appearance of Imperial power But on the contrary, Vitellius retraced his steps to the palace, the very stronghold of Empire, thence issued a band of armed men One of the most frequented parts of the city was strewed with the corpses

by conflicts between legions, by the capture of

ment. Peace and harmony bring advantage to the conquered, but only credit to the conqueror If you repent of your compact, it is not against me, whom you treacherously deceived,

meet the legions, and fight there for Empire, everything else will follow the issue of that struggle" To these representations the embarrassed

tulis to depart unobserved through a concealed part of the palace, lest he should be killed by the soldiers, as the negotiator of this abhorred con

out any leader, every man acting on his own impulse They hurried at quick march past the Forum and the temples which hang over it, and advanced their line up the opposite hill as far as the outer gates of the Capitol There were formerly certain colonnades on the right side of

the opposite approaches to the Capitol near the grove of the Asylum, and where the Tarpeian rock is mounted by a hundred steps Both these attacks were unexpected, the closer and fiercer of the two threatened the Asylum The assailants could not be checked as they mounted the continuous line of buildings, which, as was nat

old timber, caught the

itol, with its gates shut, neither defended by friends, nor spoiled by a foe, was burnt to the ground

72 This was the most deplorable and dis-

country we were fighting? King Tarquinius Priscus had vowed its erection in his war w

the Sabines, and had laid the foundations on a scale which suited the hopes of future greatness rather than what the yet moderate resources of Rome could achieve After him, Servius Tullius, heartily assisted by the allies, and Tarquinius Superbus, *employing the spoils of war from* the conquered Suessa Pometia, raised the super structure But the glory of its completion was *reserved for the days of liberty* After the expulsion of the Kings, Horatius Pulvillus, in his second consulate, dedicated it, a building so magnificent, that the vast wealth afterwards acquired by the people of Rome *served to embellish* rather than increase it It was rebuilt on the same site, when, after an interval of 415 years, it was *burnt to the ground in the consulate of* Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus Sulla, after his final triumph, undertook the charge of restoring it, but did not live to dedicate it, the one thing denied to his *uniform good fortune* The name of Lutatius Catulus, the dedicator, remained among all the vast erections of the Emperors, down to the days of Vitellius This was the building that was now on fire

73 The catastrophe, however, caused more *panic among the besieged than among the* besiegers In fact, the troops of Vitellius lacked neither skill nor courage in the midst of peril *Opposed to them were soldiers without self* possession, and a spiritless and, so to speak, infatuated commander, who had not the use of his tongue or his ears, who would not be guided by other men's counsels, and could not carry out his own, who, hurried to and fro by the shouts of the enemy, forbade what he had just ordered, and ordered what he had just forbidden Then, as usually happens when everything is lost, all gave orders, and no one obeyed At last, they threw away their *arms, and began to* look about for ways of escape and means of concealment The Vitellianists burst in, carrying *everywhere with indiscriminate ferocity the fire*-brand and the sword A few of the military men, among whom the most conspicuous were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Sceva, ventured to resist, and were cut down Flavius Sabinus, who was unarmed, and who did not attempt to fly, was surrounded, and with him the consul Quinctius Atticus, marked out by his clinging to the shadow of office, and by his folly in having scattered among the people edicts highly eulogistic of Vespasian and insulting to Vitellius The rest escaped by various chances, some disguised as slaves, *others concealed by the fidelity of de*pendants, and hiding among the baggage Some caught the watchword by which the Vitellianists recognised each other, and, themselves challenging others and giving it when challenged, found in their audacity an effectual disguise

74 When the enemy first burst in, Domitian *concealed himself in the house of a servant of* the temple At the ingenious suggestion of a freedman, he assumed a linen vestment, and passing unnoticed among a crowd of acolytes, found a refuge with Cornelius Primus, one of his father's dependants, in a house near the Velabrum When his father mounted the throne, he *pulled down the chamber of the temple-servant*, and built a small chapel, dedicated to Jupiter the Preserver, with an altar on which his own adventures were *represented in marble* After wards, on his own accession to the Imperial power, he consecrated a vast temple to Jupiter the *Guardian, with an effigy of himself in the arms of the god Sabinus and Atticus were loaded* with chains, and conducted to Vitellius, who received them with anything but anger in his words and looks, amidst the murmurs of those who demanded the privilege of slaying them and their pay for the work they had done Those *who were standing near began the clamour*, and the degraded rabble cried out for the execution of Sabinus, and mingled threats with *their flatteries Vitellius, who was standing* before the steps of the palace, and was preparing to intercede, was induced to desist The body of Sabinus, pierced and mutilated and with the head severed from it, was dragged to the Gemoniæ

75 Such was the end of a man in no wise contemptible In five and thirty campaigns he had served the State, and had gained distinction both at home and abroad His blamelessness *and integrity no one could question* He was somewhat boastful, this was the only fault of which rumour accused him in the seven years *during which he had governed Mœsia*, and the twelve during which he was prefect of the city In the closing scene of his life some have seen pusillanimity, *many a moderate temper*, sparing of the blood of his countrymen One thing is allowed by all, that, before the accession of *Vespasian, the distinction of the family* was centred in Sabinus I have heard that his death gratified Mucianus, and many indeed asserted that the interests of peace were promoted by the removal of the rivalry between these two men, one of whom felt himself to be the brother of the Emperor, while the other thought himself his colleague Vitellius resisted the demands of the people for the execution of the Consul, he

was now pacified and wished, it would seem, to recompense Atticus, who, when asked who had set fire to the Capitol, had confessed his

[illegible]

[illegible] and to have acquitted the Vitel lian party

76 Meanwhile Lucius Vitellius, who was en camped near Feronia, was threatening Tarra [illegible]

[illegible] I have mentioned before that Julianus was in command of the gladiators, Apollinaris of the seamen, two men whose prof ligacy and indolence made them resemble glad iators rather than generals They kept no watch, they did not strengthen the weak points of the fortifications, but, making each pleasant spot ring with the noise of their daily and nightly dissipation, they dispersed their soldiers on er rands which were to minister to their luxury, and never spoke of war, except at their banquets Apinius Tiro had quitted the place a few days before and was now, by the harsh exaction of presents and contributions from the towns, add ing to the unpopularity rather than to the re sources of his party

77 Meanwhile a slave belonging to Vergini us Capito deserted to L Vitellius, and having engaged on being furnished with a force to put him in possession of the unoccupied citadel, proceeded at a late hour of the night to place some light armed cohorts on the summit of a range of hills which commanded the enemy s position From this place the troops descended to what was more a massacre than a conflict Many whom they slew were unarmed or in the act of arming themselves, some were just awak ing from sleep, amid the confusion of darkness and panic, the braying of trumpets and the shouts of the foe A few of the gladiators resist ed and fell not altogether unavenged The rest made a rush for the ships where everything was invol [illegible]

[illegible] ships with Apollinaris prefect of the fleet, escaped in the first confusion The rest were either seized upon the beach, or were swamped by the weight of the crowds that rushed on board Julianus was brought before L. Vitellius, and, after being ignominiously scourged, was put to death in his presence Some persons accused Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius, of having armed herself with a sol dier's sword and of having behaved with arro gance and cruelty amid the horrors and massa cres of the storm of Tarracina Lucius himself sent to his brother a laurelled dispatch with an account of his success and asked whether he wished him at once to return to Rome, or to complete the subjugation of Campania This circumstance was advantageous to the State as well as to the cause of Vespasian Had the army fresh from victory, and with all the pride of success added to its natural obstinacy, marched upon Rome a conflict of no slight magnitude, and involving the destruction of the capital, must have ensued Lucius Vitellius, infamous as he was had yet some energy, but it was not through his virtues as is the case with the good, but through his vices, that he, like the worst of villains was formidable

78 While these successes were being achieved on the side of Vitellius, the army of Vespasian had left Narnia, and was passing the holiday of the Saturnalia in idleness at Ocriculum The reason alleged for so injurious a delay was that they might wait for Mucianus Some persons indeed there were who assailed Antonius with insinuations that he lingered with treacherous intent, after receiving private letters from Vitel lius, which conveyed to him the offer of the con sulship and of the Emperor s daughter in mar [illegible]

[illegible] patches, Antonius, by a perverse acquiescence, or by an attempt to throw the odium upon an other, laid himself open to blame, the other [illegible]

[illegible] Via Salaria, had not been sufficiently prompt in

his movements, when the report of the siege of the Capitol put all alike on the alert

79 Antonius marched by the Via Flaminia, and arrived at Saxa Rubra when the night was far spent, too late to give any help There he received nothing but gloomy intelligence, that Sabinus was dead, that the Capitol had been burnt to the ground, that Rome was in consternation, and also that the populace and the slaves were arming themselves for Vitellius And Petilius Cerialis had been defeated in a cavalry skirmish While he was hurrying on without caution, as against a vanquished enemy, the Vitellianists, who had disposed some infantry among their cavalry, met him The conflict took place not far from the city among buildings gardens, and winding lanes, which were well known to the Vitellianists, but disconcerting to their opponents, to whom they were strange Nor indeed were all the cavalry one in heart, for there were with them some who had lately capitulated at Narnia, and who were anxiously watching the fortunes of the rival parties Tullius Flavianus, commanding a squadron, was taken prisoner, the rest fled in disgraceful confusion, but the victors did not continue the pursuit beyond Fidenæ

80 By this success the zeal of the people was increased The mob of the city armed itself Some few had military shields, the greater part seized such arms as came to hand, and loudly demanded the signal of battle Vitellius expressed his thanks to them, and bade them sally forth to defend the capital Then the Senate was called together, and envoys were selected to meet the armies and urge them in the name of the Commonwealth to union and peace The reception of these envoys was not everywhere the same Those who fell in with Petilius Cerialis were exposed to extreme peril for the troops disdained all offers of peace The prætor Arulenus Rusticus was wounded This deed seemed all the more atrocious, when, over and above the insult offered to the dignity of the envoy and prætor, men considered the private worth of the man His companions were dispersed, and the lictor that stood next to him, venturing to push aside the crowd, was killed Had they not been protected by an escort provided by the general, the dignity of the ambassador, respected even by foreign nations, would have been profaned with fatal violence by the madness of Roman citizens before the very walls of their Country The envoys who met Antonius were more favourably received, not because the troops were of quieter temper, but because the general had more authority.

81. One Musonius Rufus, a man of eq rank, strongly attached to the pursuit of pl ophy and to the tenets of the Stoics, had joi the envoys He mingled with the troops, and enlarging on the blessings of peace and the perils of war, began to admonish the armed crowd Many thought it ridiculous, more thought tiresome some were ready to throw him down and trample him under foot, had he not yielde to the warnings of the more orderly and the threats of others, and ceased to display his ill timed wisdom The Vestal virgins also presented themselves with a letter from Vitellius to Antonius. He asked for one day of truce before the final struggle, and said that if they would permit some delay to intervene, everything might be more easily arranged The sacred virgins were sent back with honour, but the answer returned to Vitellius was, that all ordinary intercourse of war had been broken off by the murder of Sabinus and the conflagration of the Capitol

82 Antonius, however, summoned the legions to an assembly, and endeavoured to calm them, proposing that they should encamp near the Mulvian bridge, and enter the capital on the following day His reason for delay was the fear that the soldiers, once exasperated by conflict, would respect neither the people nor the Senate, nor even the shrines and temples of the Gods They, however, looked with dislike on all procrastination as inimical to victory At the same time the colours that glittered among the hills, though followed by an unwarlike population, presented the appearance of a hostile array They advanced in three divisions, one column straight from where they had halted along the Via Flaminia, another along the bank of the Tiber, a third moved on the Colline Gate by the Via Salaria The mob was routed by a charge of the cavalry Then the Vitellianist troops, themselves also drawn up in three columns of defence, met the foe Numerous engagements with various issue took place before the walls but they generally ended in favour of the Flavianists, who had the advantage of more skilful generalship Only that division suffered which had wound its way along narrow and slippery roads to the left quarter of the city as far as the gardens of Sallust The Vitellianists, taking their stand on the garden walls, kept off the assailants with stones and javelins till late in the day, when they were taken in the rear by the cavalry, which had then forced an entrance by the Colline Gate In the Campus Martius also the

either side gave way, they cried out that those who concealed themsel...

the first time that armed troops had fought within the city, they had done so twice when Sulla, once when Cinna triumphed. The bloodshed then had not been less, but now there was an unnatural recklessness, and men's pleasures were not interrupted even for a moment As if it were a new delight added to their holidays, they exulted in and enjoyed the scene, indifferent to parties, and rejoicing over the sufferings of the Commonwealth

84 The most arduous struggle was the storming of the camp, which the bravest of the enemy still held as a last hope It was, therefore, with peculiar energy that the conquerors, among whom the veteran cohorts were especially forward, brought to bear upon it at once all the appliances which have been discovered in reducing the strongest cities, the testudo, the catapult, the earth work, and the firebrand They repeatedly shouted "that all the toil and danger they had ...

covered forthwith, the night must be passed under arms" On the other hand the Vitellianists, though unequal in numbers and doomed to defeat, could yet disturb the victory, delay the conclusion of peace, and pollute both hearth and altar with blood, and they clung to these last consolations of the vanquished Many, desperately wounded, breathed their last on the towers and ramparts When the gates were torn down, the survivors threw themselves in a body on the conquerors, and fell to a man, with their wounds in front and their faces turned towards the foe, so anxious were they even in their last hours to die with honour When the city had been taken, Vitellius caused himself to be car-...

weakness, and following the instincts of fear, which, dreading everything, shrinks most from what is immediately before it, he retraced his steps to the desolate and forsaken palace, whence even the meanest slaves had fled, or where they avoided his presence The solitude and silence of the place scared him, he tried the closed doors, he shuddered in the empty chambers, till, wearied ...

us Placidus His hands were bound behind his back, and he was led along with tattered robes, ...

Possibly the blow was meant for the tribune. He struck off that officer's ear, and was im-...

the first men of the State, he owed, not to any energy of his own, but to the renown of h father. The throne was offered him by men

did not know him Seldom have the affections of the army attached themselves to any man who sought to gain them by his virtues as firmly *as they did to him from the indolence of* his character Yet he had a certain frankness and generosity, qualities indeed which turn to a man's ruin, unless tempered with discretion Believing that friendship may be retained by munificent gifts rather than by consistency of character, he deserved more of it than he secured *Doubtless it was good for the State that* Vitellius should be overthrown, but they who betrayed Vitellius to Vespasian cannot make a merit of their treachery, since they had themselves revolted from Galba The day was now fast drawing to a close, and the Senate could not be convened, owing to the panic of the magistrates *and Senators, who had stolen out of the* city, or were concealing themselves in the houses of dependants When nothing more was to be feared from the enemy, Domitian came forward to meet the leaders of the party, he was universally saluted by the title of Cæsar, and the troops, in great numbers, armed as they were, *conducted him to his father's house.*

## BOOK IV,

### *January–November*, A D 70

1 When Vitellius was dead, the war had indeed come to an end, but peace had yet to begin *Sword in hand, throughout the capital, the con*querors hunted down the conquered with merciless hatred The streets were choked with carnage, the squares and temples reeked with blood for men were massacred everywhere as chance threw them in the way Soon, as their license increased, they began to search for and *drag forth hidden foes Whenever they saw a* man tall and young they cut him down, making no distinction between soldiers and civilians But the ferocity, which in the first impulse of hatred could be gratified only by blood, soon passed into the greed of gain They let nothing be kept secret, nothing be closed, Vitellianists, *they pretended*, might be thus concealed Here was the first step to breaking open private houses, here, if resistance were made, a pretext for slaughter The most needy of the populace and the most worthless of the slaves did not fail to come forward *and betray their wealthy mas*ters, others were denounced by friends Everywhere were lamentations, and wailings, and all the miseries of a captured city, till the license of the Vitellianist and Othonianist soldiery, once so odious, was remembered with regret The leaders of the party, so energetic in kindling civil strife, were incapable of checking the abuse of victory In stirring up tumult and strife the worst men can do the most, but peace and quiet cannot be established without virtue.

2 Domitian had entered into possession of the title and residence of Cæsar, but not yet applying himself to business, was playing the part of a son of the throne with debauchery and intrigue. The office of prefect of the Prætorian Guard was held by Arrius Varus, but the supreme power was in the hands of Primus Antonius, *who carried off money and slaves from* the establishment of the Emperor, as if they were the spoils of Cremona The other generals, whose moderation or insignificance had shut them out from distinction in the war, had accordingly no share in its prizes. The country, terror stricken and ready to acquiesce in servitude, *urgently demanded* that Lucius Vitellius with his cohorts should be intercepted on his way from Tarracina, and that the last sparks of war should be trodden out The cavalry were sent on to Aricia, the main body of the legions *halted on this side of Bovillæ* Without hesitation Vitellius surrendered himself and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror, and the soldiers threw down their ill starred arms in rage quite as much as in alarm The long train of prisoners, closely guarded by armed men, passed through the capital Not one of them *wore the look of a suppliant, sullen and savage,* they were unmoved by the shouts and jests of the insulting rabble A few, who ventured to break away, were overpowered by the force that hemmed them in, the rest were thrown into prison Not one of them uttered an unworthy word, even in disaster the honour of the soldier *was preserved* After this Lucius Vitellius was executed Equally vicious with his brother, he had yet shewn greater vigilance during that brother's reign, and may be said, not so much to have shared his elevation, as to have been *dragged down by his fall*

3 About the same time Lucilius Bassus was sent with some light cavalry to establish order in Campania, where the towns were still disturbed, but by mutual animosities rather than by any spirit of opposition to the new *Emperor* The sight of the soldiery restored quiet, and the *smaller colonies escaped unpunished.* At Capua, however, the third legion was stationed to pass the winter, and the noble families suffered severely Tarracina, on the other hand, *received no* relief, so much more inclined are we to requite *an injury than an obligation Gratitude is a bur-*

lighted and full of confident hope, decreed to Vespasian all the honours customarily bestowed on the Emperors And indeed the civil war,

dria and Syria, every province, and every army, this war, now that the whole earth was, as it were, purged from guilt seemed to have reached its close Their alacrity was increased by a letter from Vespasian, written during the continuance of the war Such indeed was its character at first sight, the writer, however, expressed himself as an Emperor, speaking modestly about himself, in admirable language about the State

authority

4 Mucianus had also forwarded to the Senate certain letters which furnished matter for talk It was said, 'Why, if he is a private citizen, does he speak like a public man? In a few days' time he might have said the very same words in his place as a Senator And even the invective

had the Imperial power in his hands, and made a present of it to Vespasian" Their dislike, however, was concealed, their adulation was

were bestowed the insignia of consular rank, on Arrius Varus and Cornelius Fuscus prætorian honours Then they remembered the Gods

opinion, full of respect indeed to a worthy Emperor, and yet wholly free from insincerity, and he was strongly supported by the sympathies of the Senate To Priscus indeed this day was in an especial manner the beginning of a great quarrel

count of his life and pursuits and of his fortunes Helvidius Priscus was a native of the town of Carecina in Italy, and was the son of one Cluvius, who had been a centurion of the first rank In early youth he devoted his distinguished talents to the loftiest pursuits not wishing, as do many, to cloak under an imposing name a life of indolence, but to be able to enter public life with a spirit fortified against

thing not belonging to the mind While holding the quæstorship, he was selected by

zen and as a Senator, as a husband as a son in law, as a friend, and in all the relations of life, he was ever the same, despising wealth, steadily tenacious of right, and undaunted by danger

6 There were some who thought him too eager for fame, and indeed the desire of glory is the last infirmity cast off even by the wise The fall of his father in law drove him into

as great as it was just,

ings of Galba were doubtful, tors interceded, Priscus dropped the charge, amidst comments varying with the tempers of moderation and others

and this had been the opinion expressed by the Consul elect.

7 It was the dread of personal humiliation that *made Marcellus so earnest, for he feared* that, if others were chosen, he should himself appear slighted. From an angry conversation they passed by degrees to long and bitter speeches. Helvidius asked, 'Why should Marcellus be so afraid of the judgment of the magistrates? He has wealth and eloquence, which might make him superior to many, were he not oppressed by the consciousness of guilt. The chances of the ballot do not discriminate men's characters, the voting and the judgment of the Senate were devised to reach the lives and reputations of individuals. It concerns the interests of the Commonwealth, *it concerns the honour due* to Vespasian, that he should be met by those whom the Senate counts to be peculiarly blameless, and who may fill the Emperor's ear with honourable counsels. Vespasian was the friend of Thrasea, Soranus, and Sextius; and the accusers of these men, though it may not be expedient to punish them, ought not to be paraded before him. By this selection on the part of the Senate the Emperor will, so to speak, be advised whom he should mark with approval, and from whom he should shrink. There can be no more effectual instrument of good government *than good friends. Let Marcellus be satisfied* with having urged Nero to destroy so many innocent victims; let him enjoy the wages of his crimes and his impunity, but let him leave Vespasian to worthier advisers."

8 Marcellus declared: 'It is not my opinion that is assailed, the Consul elect has made a motion in accordance with old precedents, which directed the use of the ballot in the appointment of envoys, in order that there might be no room for intrigue or private animosities. Nothing has happened why customs of long standing should fall into disuse, or why the *honour due to the Emperor should* be turned into an insult to any man. All Senators are competent to pay their homage. What we have rather to avoid is this, that a mind unsettled by the novelty of power, and which will keenly watch the very looks and language of all, should be irritated by the obstinacy of certain persons. I do not forget the times in which I have been born, or the form of government which our fathers and grandfathers established. I may regard with admiration an earlier period, but I acquiesce in the present, and, while I pray for good Emperors, I can endure whomsoever we may have. It *was not* through my speech any more than it was through the judgment of the Senate that Thrasea fell. The savage temper of Nero amused itself under these forms, and I found the friendship *of such a Prince as harassing as others* found their exile. Finally, Helvidius may rival the Catos and the Bruti of old in constancy and courage, I am but one of the Senate which bows to the same yoke. Besides, I would advise Priscus not to climb higher than the throne, or to impose his counsels on Vespasian, an old man, who has won the honours of a triumph, and has two sons grown to manhood. For as the worst Emperors love an unlimited despotism, so the noblest like some check on liberty." These speeches, which were delivered with much vehemence on both sides, were heard with much *diversity of feeling.* That party prevailed which preferred that the envoys should be taken by lot, as even the neutral section in the Senate exerted themselves to retain the old practice, while the more conspicuous members inclined to the same view, dreading jealousy, should the choice fall on themselves.

9 Another struggle ensued. The prætors of the Treasury (the Treasury was at this time managed by prætors) complained of the poverty of the State, and demanded a retrenchment of expenditure. The Consul elect, considering how great was the evil and how difficult the remedy, *was for reserving the matter for the Emperor.* Helvidius gave it as his opinion that measures should be taken at the discretion of the Senate. When the Consuls came to take the votes, Vulcatius Tertullinus, tribune of the people, put his veto on any resolution being adopted in so important a matter in the absence of the Emperor. Helvidius had moved that the Capitol should be restored at the public expense, and that Vespasian should give his aid. All the more moderate of the Senators let this opinion pass in silence, and in time forgot it, but there were some who remembered it.

10. Musonius Rufus then made a violent attack on Publius Celer, accusing him of having brought about the destruction of Barea Soranus by perjury. By this impeachment all the hatreds of the days of the informers seemed to be revived, but the accused person was so worthless and so guilty that he could not be protected. For indeed the memory of Soranus was held *in reverence*, Celer had been a professor of philosophy, and had then given evidence against Barea, thus betraying and profaning the friendship of which he claimed to be a teacher. The next day was fixed for the trial. But it was not of Musonius or Publius, it was of Priscus, of Marcellus, and

his brother informers, that men were thinking, now that their hearts were once roused to vengeance

11 While things were in this state, while there was division in the Senate, resentment

himself with armed men, and bargaining for palaces

of Empire The murder of Calpurnius Galerian

with idle rumours of Imperial honours By order of Mucianus he was surrounded with a guard of soldiers Lest his execution in the capital should excite too much notice, they conducted him to the fortieth milestone from Rome on the Appian Road, and there put him to death by opening his veins Julius Priscus who had

war had its origin, and the extent of the movements which it kindled among *independent* and *allied* nations.

The Batavians, while they dwelt on the other side of the Rhine, formed a part of *the tribe of*

ocean in front, and by the river Rhine in the *rear and on either side Not weakened* by the power of Rome or by alliance with a people stronger than themselves, they furnished to the Empire nothing but men and arms They had had a long training in the German wars, and they had gained further renown in Britain to which country their cohorts had been transferred, commanded, according to ancient custom, by the noblest men in the nation They had also at home a select body of cavalry, who practised with special devotion the art of swimming, so that they could stem the stream of the Rhine with their arms and horses, without breaking the order of their squadrons

13 Julius Paullus and Claudius Civilis scions of the royal family, ranked very high above the

politic to a degree rarely found among barbarians He was wont to represent himself as Sertorius or Hannibal, on the strength of a similar

zealous attachment to his party, and indeed a letter had been *despatched to him by Primus* Antonius, in which he was directed to divert the reinforcements which Vitellius had

with so many thousands of armed men to burst upon Italy

14 Civilis, who was resolved on rebellion,

tavian youth was then being summoned to the conscription, a thing naturally vexatious, and which the officials made yet more burdensome by their rapacity and profligacy, while they selected aged and infirm persons, whom they might discharge for a consideration and striplings, but of distinguished

many attained even in boyhood to a noble stature), whom they dragged off for infamous purposes This caused indignation, and the ringleaders of the concerted rebellion prevailed upon the people to refuse the conscription Civilis collected at one of the sacred groves, ostensibly for a banquet, the chiefs of the nation and the boldest spirits of the lower class When he saw them warmed with the festivities of the night, he began by speaking of the renown and glory of their race, and then counted the wrongs and the oppressions which they endured, and all the other evils of slavery "There is,' he said, "no alliance, as once there was, we are treated as slaves When does even a legate come among us, though he come only with a burdensome retinue and in all the haughtiness of power? We are handed over to prefects and centurions, and when they are glutted with our spoils and our blood, then they are changed, and new receptacles for plunder, new terms for spoliation, are discovered Now the conscription is at hand, tearing, we may say, for ever children from parents, and brothers from brothers Never has the power of Rome been more depressed In the winter quarters of the legions there is nothing but property to plunder and a few old men Only dare to look up, and cease to tremble at the empty names of legions For we have a vast force of horse and foot, we have the Germans our kinsmen, we have Gaul bent on the same objects Even to the Roman people this war will not be displeasing if defeated, we shall still reckon it a service to Vespasian, and for success no account need be rendered "

15 Having been listened to with great approval, he bound the whole assembly with barbarous rites and the national forms of oath Envoys were sent to the Canninefates to urge a common policy This is a tribe which inhabits part of the island, and closely resembles the Batavians in their origin, their language, and their courageous character, but is inferior in numbers After this he sent messengers to tamper with the British auxiliaries and with the Batavian cohorts, who, as I have before related, had been sent into Germany, and were then stationed at Mogontiacum Among the Canninefates there was a certain Brinno, a man of a certain stolid bravery and of distinguished birth His father, after venturing on many acts of hostility, had scorned with impunity the ridiculous expedition of Caligula. His very name, the name of a family of rebels, made him popular Raised aloft on a shield after the national fashion, and balanced on the shoulders of the bearers, he was chosen general Immediately summoning to arms the Frisii, a tribe of the farther bank of the Rhine, he assailed by sea the winter quarters of two cohorts, which was the nearest point to attack The soldiers had not anticipated the assault of the enemy; even had they done so, they had not strength to repulse it Thus the camp was taken and plundered Then the enemy fell upon the sutlers and Roman traders, who were wandering about in every direction, as they would in a time of peace At the same time they were on the point of destroying the forts, but the prefects of the cohorts, seeing that they could not hold them, set them on fire The standards, the colours, and what soldiers there were, concentrated themselves in the upper part of the island under the command of Aquilius, a centurion of the first rank, an army in name rather than in strength Vitellius in fact, after withdrawing the effective troops from the cohorts, had loaded with arms a crowd of idlers from the neighbouring villages of the Nervii and the Germans

16 Civilis, thinking that he must proceed by craft, actually blamed the prefects for having deserted the forts, saying that he would himself, with the cohort under his command, quell the disturbance among the Canninefates, and that they had better return to their respective winter quarters It was evident, however, that there was some treacherous design beneath this advice, that the cohorts would be dispersed only to be more easily crushed, and that the guiding hand in the war was not Brinno but Civilis for indications of the truth, which the Germans, a people who delight in war, could not long conceal, were gradually coming to light When stratagem proved ineffectual, he resorted to force, arranging in distinct columns the Canninefates, the Batavians, and the Frisii The Roman army was drawn up to meet them not far from the river Rhine, and the ships, which, after burning the forts, they had stranded at that point, were arranged so as to front the enemy Before the struggle had lasted long a cohort of Tungrians carried over their standards to Civilis The other troops, paralysed by the unexpected desertion, were cut down alike by friends and foes In the fleet there was the same treachery Some of the rowers were Batavians, and they hindered the operations of the sailors and combatants by an apparent want of skill, then they began to back water, and to run the sterns on to the hostile shore At last they killed the pilots and centurions, unless these[illegible] ing to join them The end was that [illegible]

fleet of four and twenty vessels either deserted or was taken

17 For the moment this was a brilliant success, and it had its use for the future They possessed themselves of some arms and some vessels, both of which they wanted, while they be came [illegible]

d [illegible]
in [illegible]
T [illegible]
sc [illegible]

re[illegible] estates the captured prefects of cohorts, and giving permission to their men to go or stay as they preferred He offered to those who stay [illegible]d service on honourable terms, to those who departed the spoils of the Roman army At the same time he reminded them in confidential conversations of the wrongs which they had endured for so many years, while they falsely gave to a wretched slavery the name of peace "The Batavians," he said, "though free of tribute, have yet taken up arms against our common masters In the first conflict the soldiers of Rome have been routed and vanquished What will be the result if Gaul throws off the yoke? What strength is there yet left in Italy? It is by the blood of the provinces that the provinces are conquered Think not of how it fared with the armies of Vindex It was by Batavian cavalry that the Ædui and the Arverni were trampled down, and among the auxiliaries of Verginius there were [illegible]

wi [illegible]
Ga [illegible]

on [illegible] same side, and we have whatever remnant of military vigour still flourished in the camps of Rome With us too are the veteran cohorts to which the legions of Otho lately succumbed Let Syria, Asia Minor, and the East, habituated as it is to despotism, submit to slavery, there are many yet alive in Gaul who were born before the days of tribute It was only lately indeed that Quintilius Varus was slain, and slavery driven out of Germany And the Emperor who was challenged by that war was not a Vitellius, but a Cæsar Augustus Freedom is a gift bestowed by nature even on the dumb animals Courage is the peculiar excellence of man, and the Gods help the braver side Let us then, who are free to act and vigorous, fall on a distracted and exhausted enemy While some are supporting Vespasian, and others Vitellius, opportunities are opening up for acting against both"

18 Civilis, bent on winning Gaul and Germany if his purposes should prosper, was on the point of securing supremacy over the most powerful and most wealthy of the states His first attempts Hordeonius Flaccus had encouraged by affecting ignorance But when messengers came hurrying in with intelligence that a camp had been stormed, that cohorts had been cut to pieces, and that the Roman power had been expelled from the island of the Batavians, the general ordered the legate, Munius Lupercus, who was in command of the winter quarters of two legions, to advance against the enemy Lupercus in great haste threw across the Rhine such legionaries as were on the spot some Ubi[illegible]

[illegible]

that by betraying the Romans in the moment of actual conflict they might receive a higher price for their desertion Civilis surrounding himself with the standards of the captured cohorts, to keep their recent honours before the eyes of his own men, and to terrify the enemy by the remembrance of defeat, now directed his own mother and sisters, and the wives and children of all his men to stand in the rear, where they might encourage to victory, or shame defeat The war song of the men and the shrill cries of the women, rose from the whole line, and an answering but far less vigorous cheer, came from the legions and auxiliaries The Batavians had exposed the left wing by their desertion, and they immediately turned against our men Still the legionaries, though their position was alarming, kept their arms and their ranks The auxiliaries of the Ubii and the Treveri broke at once in shameful flight, and dispersed over the whole country On that side the Germans threw the weight of their attack Meanwhile the legions had an opportunity of retreating into what was called the Old Camp Claudius Labeo, prefect of the Batavian horse, who had been the rival of Civilis in some local contest, was sent away into the country of the Frisii, to kill him might be to give offence to his countrymen, while to keep him with the army [illegible]

[illegible]

the orders of Vitellius they were advancing towards Rome At once, inflated with pride and haughtiness they demanded, by way of remuneration for their march, a donative, double pay, and an increase in the number of cavalry, things

indeed which Vitellius had promised, but which they now asked, not with the thought of obtaining them, but as a pretext for mutiny. Flaccus, by his many concessions, had produced no other effect but to make them insist with more energy on what they knew he must refuse. Treating him with contempt, they made their way towards Lower Germany, to join Civilis. Hordeonius, assembling the tribunes and centurions, asked their opinion as to whether he should use coercion with those who refused obedience. Soon, yielding to his natural timidity and to the alarm of his officers, who were troubled by the suspicious temper of the auxiliaries and by the fact that the ranks of the legions had been recruited by a hurried conscription, he resolved to confine his troops to the camp. Then, repenting of his resolve, and finding that the very men who had advised it now disapproved it, he seemed bent on pursuing the enemy, and wrote to Herennius Gallus, legate of the first legion, who was then holding Bonna, that he was to prevent the Batavians from crossing the Rhine, and that he would himself hang on their rear with his army. They might have been crushed, if Hordeonius, moving from one side, and Gallus from the other, had enclosed them between their armies. But Flaccus abandoned his purpose, and, in other despatches to Gallus, recommended him not to threaten the departing foe. Thence arose a suspicion that the war was being kindled with the consent of the legates, and that everything which had happened, or was apprehended, was due, not to the cowardice of the troops, or to the strength of the enemy, but to the treachery of the generals.

20 When the Batavians were near the camp at Bonna, they sent on before them delegates, commissioned to deliver to Herennius Gallus a message from the cohorts. It was to this effect. "We have no quarrel with the Romans, for whom we have so often fought. Wearied with a protracted and fruitless service, we long for our native land and for rest. If no one oppose us, our march will be harmless, but if an armed force encounter us, we will make a way with the sword." The soldiers prevailed upon the hesitating legate to risk the chances of a battle. Three thousand legionaries, some raw Belgian cohorts, and with them a mob of rustics and camp-followers, cowardly, but bold of speech before the moment of danger, rushed out of all the gates, thinking to surround the Batavians, who were inferior in number. But the enemy, being veteran troops, formed in columns, presenting on every side a dense array, with front, flanks, and rear secure. Thus they were able to break the thin line of our soldiers. The Belgians giving way, the legion was driven back, retreating in confusion on the entrenchments and the gates. It was there that the greatest slaughter took place. The trenches were heaped up with corpses. Nor was it only from the deadly blows of the enemy that they suffered, many perished in the crush and by their own weapons. The victorious army, who avoided the Colonia Agrippinensis, did not venture on any other hostile act during the remainder of their march, and excused the conflict at Bonna, alleging that they had asked for peace, and that when it was refused they had but looked to their own safety.

21 Civilis, who now on the arrival of these veteran cohorts was at the head of a complete army, but who was undecided in his plans, and still reflected on the power of Rome, made all who were with him swear allegiance to Vespasian, and sent envoys to the two legions which after their defeat in the previous engagement had retreated into the Old Camp, advising them to accept the same allegiance. Their reply was, "We do not follow the advice of traitors or enemies. Vitellius is our Emperor, to him we will retain our fealty and devote our swords till our last breath. Then let not a Batavian refugee affect to decide the destinies of Rome, let him rather await the merited penalty of his guilt." When this reply was delivered to Civilis, he was furious with anger, and hurried the whole Batavian nation into open war. The Bructeri and the Tencteri joined him, and messengers summoned all Germany to share in his plunder and his glory.

22 To meet the threatened dangers of the gathering war, the legates of the legions, Munius Lupercus and Numisius Rufus, strengthened their entrenchments and walls. The buildings, which during a long period of peace had grown up like a town near the camp, were destroyed, lest they might be useful to the enemy. Little care, however, was taken about the conveyance of supplies into the camp. These the generals allowed to be plundered, and so what might long have sufficed for their necessities, was wantonly wasted in a few days. Civilis, who occupied the centre of the army with the élite of the Batavian troops, wishing to add a new terror to his demonstration cove[illegible]
of the [illegible]
whil[illegible]
the s[illegible]
Here [illegible]
there [illegible]

the woods and sacred groves, under the various forms which each tribe is used to follow into battle, and these mingled emblems of civil and of foreign warfare utterly confounded the besieged The extent of the entrenchment raised the hopes of the besiegers Constructed for two legions, it was now held by not more than five thousand Roman soldiers But there was with them a great number of camp-followers, who had assembled there on the disturbance of peace, and who could be employed in the contest

23 Part of the camp occupied the gentle slope of a hill, to part was a level approach By this encampment Augustus had thought the German tribes might be watched and checked, never had he contemplated such a pitch of disaster, as that these tribes should themselves advance to attack our legions Hence no labour was bestowed on the ground or on the defences Our valour and our arms seemed defence enough The Batavians and the Transrhenane tribes took up their position, each tribe by itself, to distinguish and so the better to display the valour of each, first annoying us by a distant volley, then, as they found that very many of their missiles fixed themselves harmlessly in the turrets and battlements of the walls, and they themselves suffered from the stones showered down on them, they fell on the entrenchment [illegible]

over when they were thrust down by the swords of the enemy, and fell overwhelmed by a storm of javelins and stakes Always very daring at first and excessively elated by success they now in their eagerness for plunder bore up against reverse They also ventured to use what to them was a novelty, engines of war, they had them [illegible]

structed fabric, and when they set themselves to prepare hurdles and mantlets, burning spears were thrown on them by the engines, fire being thus actually used against the assailants At last, despairing of success by force, they changed their plans, and resolved to wait, for they were well aware that only a few days' provisions were in the camp, and that th [illegible]

[illegible] slaves, and on the chances of war

24 Meanwhile Flaccus who had heard of the siege of the camp, and had sent into all parts of Gaul to collect auxiliaries, put under command of Dillius Vocula, legate of the 18th legion, some troops picked from the legions with orders to hasten by forced marches along the banks of the Rhine Flaccus himself, who was weak in health and disliked by his troops, travelled with the fleet The troops indeed complained in unmistakable language that their [illegible] man tribes to join the league This they said, 'has strengthened Vespasian no less than the exertions of Primus Antonius and Mucianus [illegible]

in arms against us, and arranges the order of his battle, Hordeonius from his chamber or his litter gives such orders as may best serve the enemy The swords of thousands of brave men are directed by one old man's sick caprice How much better by slaying the traitor, to set free our valour and our fortune from these evil auspices! The passions already kindled by the [illegible]

brought it in chains to Vitellius [illegible]

through his treachery that they had been [illegible]

mary provinces Hordeonius read to the army copies of all the letters which he had sent about Gaul, begging for reinforcements, and established as a precedent a most disgraceful practice, namely, the handing over the despatches

to the standard bearers of the legions, through whose means they were read by the soldiers sooner than by the generals He then ordered one of the mutineers to be put in irons, more for the sake of asserting his authority than because any one man was in fault The army was then moved from Bonna to the Colonia Agrippinensis, while auxiliaries from Gaul continued to flow in, for at first that nation zealously supported the cause of Rome Soon indeed as the Germans increased in power, many of the states took up arms against us, moved by the hope of freedom and, could they once shake off the yoke, even by the lust of empire The irritation of the legions still increased, nor had the imprisonment of a single soldier struck them with terror This fellow indeed actually charged the general with complicity, he had, he said, acted as a messenger between Civilis and Flaccus, and because he might tell the truth he was now being crushed under a false charge With wonderful firmness Vocula ascended the tribunal, and ordered the man, who had been seized by the lictors, and was loudly remonstrating to be led off to execution All the best men acquiesced in the order, while the ill affected were struck with terror Then, as all with common consent demanded that Vocula should be their general, Hordeonius handed over to him the supreme command

26 But there were many things to exasperate the already divided feelings of the soldiery Pay and provisions were scanty, Gaul was rebelling against conscription and taxes, while the Rhine, owing to a drought unexampled in that climate, would hardly admit of navigation, and thus supplies were straitened at the same time that outposts had to be established along the entire bank to keep the Germans from fording the stream, the self same cause thus bringing about a smaller supply of grain and a greater number of consumers Among ignorant persons the very failure of the stream was regarded as a prodigy, as if the very rivers the old defences of the Empire, were deserting us What, in peace, would have seemed chance or nature, was now spoken of as destiny and the anger of heaven As the army entered Novesium the sixteenth legion joined it, Herennius Gallus, its legate, was associated with Vocula in the responsibilities of command As they did not venture to advance upon the enemy, they constructed a camp at a place called Gelduba Here the generals sought to give steadiness to the troops by such exercises as forming in order of battle, constructing fortifications, making entrenchments, and whatever else might train them for war In the hope that they might be fired to courage by the delights of plunder, Vocula led the army against the nearest villages of the Gugerni, who had accepted the alliance of Civilis Some of the troops remained permanently with Herennius Gallus

27 One day it happened that at no great distance from the camp the Germans were endeavouring to drag off to their own bank a vessel laden with corn, which had run aground in the shallows Gallus could not endure this, and sent a cohort to help The numbers of the Germans also increased, as fresh troops continued to join both sides a regular battle ensued The Germans, besides inflicting great loss on our men, carried off the vessel The vanquished troops following what had become a regular practice, laid the blame not on their own cowardice, but on supposed treachery in the legate Dragged out of his tent, his garments torn, and his person severely beaten, he was commanded to declare for what bribe and with what accomplices he had betrayed the army Their old hatred of Hordeonius reappeared He, they declared, was the instigator of the crime, Gallus his tool At last, utterly terrified by their threats of instant death, the legate himself charged Hordeonius with treachery He was then put in irons, and only released on the arrival of Vocula, who the next day inflicted capital punishment on the ringleaders of the mutiny, such wide extremes of license and of subordination were to be found in that army The common soldiers were undoubtedly loyal to Vitellius but all the most distinguished men were in favour of Vespasian The result was an alternation of outbreaks and executions, and a strange mixture of obedience and frenzy, which made it impossible to restrain the men whom it was yet possible to punish

28 Meanwhile all Germany was raising the power of Civilis by vast additions of strength, and the alliance was secured by hostages of the noblest rank He directed that the territories of the Ubii and the Treveri should be ravaged by the several tribes on which they bordered, and that another detachment should cross the river Mosa, to threaten the Menapii and the Morini and the frontiers of Gaul In both quarters plunder was collected, with peculiar hostility in the case of the Ubii, because this nation being of German origin, had forsworn its native country, and assumed the Roman name of the Agrippinenses Their cohorts were cut up at the village of Marcodurum, where they lay in

careless security, presuming on their distance from the river bank The Ubii did not remain quiet, but made predatory excursions into Germany, escaping at first with impunity though

siege of the legions, keeping a strict watch to prevent any secret intelligence of advancing succours from reaching them He entrusted to the Batavians the care of the machines and the vast siege-works, and when the Transrhenane tribes clamoured for battle, he bade them go and cut through the ramparts and, if repulsed, renew the struggle, their numbers were superfluously large, and their loss was not felt Even darkness did not terminate the struggle

29 Piling up logs of wood round the walls and lighting them, they sat feasting, and rushed to the conflict, as each grew heated with wine,

this and, extinguishing the fires threw the confusion of darkness over the attack Then ensued a scene of discordant clamour, of accident, and uncertainty where no one could see how to aim or to avoid a blow Wherever a shout was heard, they wheeled round and strained hand and foot Valour was of no avail, accident dis-

not at random, stakes shod with iron and heavy stones Where the noise of the assailants was heard, or where the ladders placed against the walls brought the enemy within reach of their

spent, day revealed a new method of attack

30 The Batavians had raised a tower two

it down, causing great destruction among the combatants on the top The enemy were attacked in their confusion by a sudden and successful sally All this time many engines were constructed by the legionaries who were superior to the enemy in experience and skill Peculiar consternation was caused by a machine which, being poised in the air over the heads of the enemy, suddenly descended, and

saries

31 All these events in Germany took place before the battle of Cremona, the result of which was announced in a despatch from Antonius, accompanied by Cæcina s proclamation Alpinius Montanus, prefect of a cohort in the vanquished army, was on the spot and acknowledged the fate of his party Various were the

istered the oath, under a strong pressure from their tribunes, they pronounced the words,

quently in absolute silence

many Soon the news reached the camp at Gelduba and the same language and the same acts were repeated Montanus was sent with a message to Civilis, bidding him desist from

gled for five and twenty years in the camps of Rome '*It is*," he said, "a noble reward that *I* have received for my toils, my brother murdered, myself imprisoned, and the savage clam-

our of this army, a clamour which demanded my execution, and for which by the law of nations I demand vengeance You, Treveri, and other enslaved creatures, what reward do you expect for the blood which you have shed so often? What but a hateful service, perpetual tribute, the rod, the axe, and the passions of a ruling race? See how I, the prefect of a single cohort, with the Batavians and the Canninefates a mere fraction of Gaul, have destroyed their vast but useless camps, or are pressing them with the close blockade of famine and the sword In a word, either freedom will follow on our efforts, or, if we are vanquished we shall but be what we were before' Having thus fired the man's ambition Civilis dismissed him, but bade him carry back a milder answer He returned, pretending to have failed in his mission, but not revealing the other facts these indeed soon came to light

33 Civilis retaining a part of his forces, sent the veteran cohorts and the bravest of his German troops against Vocula and his army, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor his sister s son On their march they plundered the winter camp of a body of horse stationed at Ascibergium, and they fell on Vocula s camp so unexpectedly that he could neither harangue his army, nor even get it into line All that he could do in the confusion was to order the veteran troops to strengthen the centre The auxiliaries were dispersed in every part of the field The cavalry charged, but, received by the orderly array of the enemy, fled to their own lines What ensued was a massacre rather than a battle The Nervian infantry, from panic or from treachery, exposed the flank of our army Thus the attack fell upon the legions, who had lost their standards and were being cut down within the entrenchments, when the fortune of the day was suddenly changed by a reinforcement of fresh troops Some Vascon infantry, levied by Galba, which had by this time been sent for, heard the noise of the combatants as they approached the camp, attacked the rear of the preoccupied enemy, and spread a panic more than proportionate to their numbers, some believing that all the troops from Novesium, others that all from Mogontiacum, had come up This delusion restored the courage of the Romans, and in relying on the strength of others they recovered their own All the bravest of the Batavians, of the infantry at least, fell, but the cavalry escaped with the standards and with the prisoners whom they had secured in the early part of the engagement. Of the slain on that day the greater number belonged to our army, but to its less effective part The Germans lost the flower of their force

34 The two generals were equally blameworthy, they deserved defeat, they did not make the most of success Had Civilis given battle in greater force, he could not have been outflanked by so small a number of cohorts, and he might have destroyed the camp after once forcing an entrance As for Vocula, he did not reconnoitre the advancing enemy, and consequently he was vanquished as soon as he left the camp, and then, mistrusting his victory, he fruitlessly wasted several days before marching against the enemy, though, had he at once resolved to drive them back, and to follow up his success, he might, by one and the same movement, have raised the siege of the legions Meanwhile Civilis had tried to work on the feelings of the besieged by representing that with the Romans all was lost and that victory had declared for his own troops The standards and colours were carried round the ramparts, and the prisoners also were displayed One of them, with noble daring, declared the real truth in a loud voice, and as he was cut down on the spot by the Germans, all the more confidence was felt in his information At the same time it was becoming evident from the devastation of the country and from the flames of burning houses, that the victorious army was approaching Vocula issued orders that the standards should be planted within sight of the camp, and should be surrounded with a ditch and rampart, where his men might deposit their knapsacks and so fight without encumbrance On this, the General was assailed by a clamorous demand for instant battle They had now grown used to threaten Without even taking time to form into line, disordered and weary as they were, they commenced the action Civilis was on the field, trusting quite as much to the faults of his adversaries as to the valour of his own troops With the Romans the fortune of the day varied, and the most violently mutinous shewed themselves cowards But some, remembering their recent victory, stood their ground and struck fiercely at the foe, now encouraging each other and their neighbours, and now, while they re formed their lines, imploring the besieged not to lose the opportunity These latter, who saw everything from the walls, sallied out from every gate It so happened that Civilis was thrown to the ground by the fall of his horse A report that he had been either wound-

ed or slain gained belief throughout both armies, and spread incredible panic among his own troops, and gave as great encouragement to their opponents But Vocula, leaving the flying foe, began to strengthen the rampart and the towers of the camp, as if another siege were imminent He had misused success so often that he was rightly suspected of a preference for war

35 Nothing distressed our troops so much as the scarcity of supplies The baggage of the legions was therefore sent to Novesium with a crowd of non-combatants to fetch corn from that place overland, for the enemy commanded the river. The march of the first body was accomplished in security, as Civilis had not yet recovered But when he heard that officers of the commissariat had been again sent to Novesium, and that the infantry detached as an escort were advancing just as if it were a time of profound peace, with but few soldiers round the standards, the arms stowed away in the wagons, and all wandering about at their pleasure, he attacked them in regular form, having first sent on troops to occupy the bridges and the defiles in the road. The battle extended over a long line of march, lasting with varying success till night parted the combatants The infantry pushed on to Gelduba, while the camp remained in the same state as before, garrisoned by such troops as had been left in it There could be no doubt what peril a convoy, heavily laden and panic stricken, would have to encounter in attempting to return Vocula added to his force a thousand picked men from the fifth and fift

protested, as they marched, that they would not endure any longer the hardships of famine and the trea

cula to come back, while the others refused to return to the camp.

36 Meanwhile Civilis blockaded the Old Camp. Vocula retired first to Gelduba, afterwards to Novesium, Civilis took possession of Gelduba, and not long after was victorious in a cavalry engagement near Novesium. But reverses and successes seemed equally to kindle in the troops the one desire of murdering their officers The legions, increased in number by the arrival of the men from the fifth and fifteenth, demanded a donative, for they had discovered that some money had been sent by Vitellius After a short delay Hordeonius gave the donative in the name of Vespasian This, more than anything else, fostered the mutinous spirit The men, abandoning themselves to debauchery and revelry and all the license of nightly gatherings, revived their old grudge against Hordeonius Without a single legate or tribune venturing to check them, for the darkness seems to have taken from them all sense of shame, they dragged him out of his bed and killed him The same fate was intended for Vocula, but he assumed the dress of a slave, and escaped unrecognized in the darkness When their fury had subsided and their alarm returned, they sent centurions with despatches to the various states of Gaul, imploring help in money and troops

37 These men

the statues of Vitellius were again set up in the camp and in the neighbouring Belgian towns, and this at a time when Vitellius himself had fallen. Then the men of the 1st, the 4th, and the 18th legions, repenting of their conduct, followed Vocula, and again taking in his presence the oath of alleg

had raised the siege, glutted with spoils, but not without suffering loss Our troops attacked them on the way, dispersed and unprepared Moreover the Treveri had constructed a breastwork and rampart across their territory, and they and the Germans continued to contend with great losses on both sides up to the time when they tarnished by rebellion their distinguished services

were gloomy and anxious under the pressure of

through the revolutionary movements of Lucius Piso He was governor of that province, and was far from being a man of turbulent disposi-

tion The fact was that the wheat ships were detained by the severity of the weather, and the lower orders, who were accustomed to buy their provisions from day to day, and to whom cheap corn was the sole subject of public interest, feared and believed that the ports had been closed and the supplies stopped, the Vitellianists, who had not yet given up their party feelings, helping to spread the report, which was not displeasing even to the conquerors Their ambition, which even foreign campaigns could not fill to the full, was not satisfied by any triumphs that civil war could furnish

39 On the 1st of January, at a meeting of the Senate, convoked for the purpose by Julius Frontinus, prætor of the city, votes of thanks were passed to the legates, to the armies and to the allied kings The office of prætor was taken away from Tettius Julianus, as having deserted his legion when it passed over to the party of Vespasian, with a view to its being transferred to Plotius Griphus Equestrian rank was conferred on Hormus Then on the resignation of Frontinus, Cæsar Domitian assumed the office of prætor of the city His name was put at the head of despatches and edicts, but the real authority was in the hands of Mucianus, with this exception, that Domitian ventured on several acts of power, at the instigation of his friends, or at his own caprice But Mucianus found his principal cause of apprehension in Primus Antonius and Varus Arrius who in the freshness of their fame, while distinguished by great achievements and by the attachment of the soldiery, were also supported by the people, because in no case had they extended their severities beyond the battle field It was also reported that Antonius had urged Scribonianus Crassus, whom an illustrious descent added to the honours of his brother made a conspicuous person, to assume the supreme power and it was understood that a number of accomplices would not have failed to support him, had not the proposal been rejected by Scribonianus who was a man not easily to be tempted even by a certainty, and was proportionately apprehensive of risk Mucianus, seeing that Antonius could not be openly crushed, heaped many praises upon him in the Senate, and loaded him with promises in secret, holding out as a prize the government of Eastern Spain, then vacant in consequence of the departure of Cluvius Rufus At the same time he lavished on his friends tribuneships and prefectures and then when he had filled the vain heart of the man with hope and ambition, he destroyed his power by sending into winter quarters the 7th legion, whose affection for Antonius was particularly vehement The 3rd legion, old troops of Varus Arrius, were sent back to Syria Part of the army was on its way to Germany Thus all elements of disturbance being removed, the usual appearance of the capital, the laws, and the jurisdiction of the magistrates, were once more restored

40 Domitian, on the day of his taking his seat in the Senate, made a brief and measured speech in reference to the absence of his father and brother, and to his own youth He was graceful in his bearing, and, his real character being yet unknown, the frequent blush on his countenance passed for modesty On his proposing the restoration of the Imperial honours of Galba, Curtius Montanus moved that respect should also be paid to the memory of Piso The Senate passed both motions, but that which referred to Piso was not carried out Certain commissioners were then appointed by lot, who were to see to the restitution of property plundered during the war, to examine and restore to their place the brazen tables of the laws, which had fallen down through age, to free the Calendar from the additions with which the adulatory spirit of the time had disfigured it, and to put a check on the public expenditure The office of prætor was restored to Tettius Julianus, as soon as it was known that he had fled for refuge to Vespasian Griphus still retained his rank It was then determined that the cause of Musonius Rufus against Publius Celer should be again brought on Publius was condemned and thus expiation was made to the shade of Soranus The day thus marked by an example of public justice was not barren of distinction to individuals Musonius was thought to have fulfilled the righteous duty of an accuser, but men spoke very differently of Demetrius, a disciple of the Cynical school of philosophy, who pleaded the cause of a notorious criminal by appeals to corrupt influences rather than by fair argument. Publius himself, in his peril, had neither spirit nor power of speech left The signal for vengeance on the informers having been thus given Junius Mauricus asked Cæsar to give the Senate access to the Imperial registers, from which they might learn what impeachments the several informers had proposed Cæsar answered, that in a matter of such importance the Emperor must be consulted

41 The Senate, led by its principal members, then framed a form of oath, which was eagerly taken by all the magistrates and by the other

Senators in the order in which they voted They called the Gods to witness, that nothing had been done by their instrumentality to prejudice the safety of any person, and that they had gained no distinction or advantage by the ruin of Roman citizens Great was the alarm, and various the devices for altering the words of the oath, among those who felt the consciousness of guilt The Senate appreciated the scruple, but denounced the perjury This public censure, as it might be called fell with especial severity on three men, Sariolenus Vocula, Nonnius Attianus, and Cestius Severus, all of them infamous for having practised the trade of the informer in the days of Nero Sariolenus indeed laboured under an imputation of recent date It was said that he had attempted the [illegible]

[illegible] singled out as victims for Nero the brothers Scribonius, renowned for their mutual affection and for their wealth Africanus dared not confess his guilt, and could not deny it, but he himself turned on Vibius Crispus, who was [illegible] his guilt [illegible]

[illegible] had brought Regulus into the utmost odium Of his own free will, as it seemed, and while [illegible]

[illegible] man's head [illegible]

not compel this act, you did not secure by this piece of barbarity either your rank or your life We may bear with the defence put forward by men who thought it better to destroy others than to come into peril themselves As for you, the exile of your father, and the division of his property among his creditors, had left you perfectly safe, besides that your youth incapacitated you for office there was nothing in you which Nero could either covet or dread It was from sheer lust of slaughter and greed of gain that you, unknown as you were, you, who had never pleaded in any man's defence, steeped your soul in noble blood, when, though you had snatched from the very grave of your Country *the spoils of a man of consular rank*, had been fed to the full with seven million sesterces, and shone with all sacerdotal honours, you yet overwhelmed in one common ruin innocent boys, old men of illustrious name, and noble ladies, when you actually blamed the tardy movements of Nero in wearying himself and his informers with the overthrow of single families, and declared that the whole Senate might be destroyed by one word Keep, Conscript Fathers, preserve a man of such ready counsels, that every age may be furnished with its teacher, and that our young men may imitate Regulus, just as our old men imitate Mar- [illegible]

[illegible] vigour, Conscript Fathers, we are no longer that Senate, which, when Nero had fallen, demanded that the informers and ministers of the tyrant should be punished according to ancient custom. The first day after the downfall of a wicked Emperor is the best of opportunities."

43 Montanus was heard with such approval on the part of the Senate, that Helvidius conceived a hope that Marcellus also might be overthrown He therefore began with a [illegible]egyric on Cluvius Rufus, who, though [illegible] rich nor less renowned for [illegible]

imperilled a single life in the days of Nero By this comparison, as well as by direct accusations, he pressed Eprius hard, and stirred the indignation of the Senators When Marcellus perceived this, he made as if he would leave the House, exclaiming, "We go, Priscus, and leave you your Senate, act the king, though Cæsar himself be present" Crispus followed Both were enraged, but their looks were different, Marcellus cast furious glances about him, while Crispus smiled They were drawn back however, into the Senate by the hasty interference of friends The contest grew fiercer, while the well-disposed majority on the one side, and a powerful minority on the other, fought out their obstinate quarrel, and thus the day was spent in altercation

44 At the next meeting of the Senate Cæsar began by recommending that the wrongs, the resentments, and the terrible necessities of former times, should be forgotten, and Mucianus spoke at great length in favour of the informers At the same time he admonished in gentle terms and in a tone of entreaty those who were reviving indictments, which they had before commenced and afterwards dropped The Senators, when they found themselves opposed, relinquished the liberty which they had begun to exercise That it might not be thought that the opinion of the Senate was disregarded, or that impunity was accorded to all acts done in the days of Nero Mucianus sent back to their islands two men of Senatorial rank, Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sosianus, who had quitted their places of banishment Octavius had seduced one Pontia Postumia, and, on her refusing to marry him, in the frenzy of passion had murdered her Sosianus by his depravity had brought many to ruin Both had been condemned and banished by a solemn decision of the Senate, and, though others were permitted to return, were kept under the same penalty But this did not mitigate the hatred felt against Mucianus Sosianus and Sagitta were utterly insignificant, even if they did return, but men dreaded the abilities of the informers, their wealth, and the power which they exercised in many sinister ways

45 A trial, conducted in the Senate according to ancient precedents, brought into harmony for a time the feelings of its members Manlius Patruitus, a Senator, laid a complaint, that he had been beaten by a mob in the colony of Sena, and that by order of the magistrates, that the wrong had not stopped here, but that lamentations and wailings, in fact a representation of funeral obsequies, had been enacted in his presence, accompanied with contemptuous and insulting expressions levelled against the whole Senate The persons accused were summoned to appear, and after the case had been investigated, punishment was inflicted on those who were found guilty A resolution of the Senate was also passed, recommending more orderly behaviour to the people of Sena About the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned under the law against extortion, at the suit of the people of Cyrene, and was banished for cruel practices

46 Amidst all this a mutiny in the army all but broke out The troops who, having been disbanded by Vitellius, had flocked to support Vespasian, asked leave to serve again in the Prætorian Guard, and the soldiers who had been selected from the legions with the same prospect now clamoured for their promised pay Even the Vitellianists could not be got rid of without much bloodshed But the money required for retaining in the service so vast a body of men was immensely large Mucianus entered the camp to examine more accurately the individual claims The victorious army, wearing their proper decorations and arms, he drew up with moderate intervals of space between the divisions then the Vitellianists, whose capitulation at Bovillæ I have already related, and the other troops of the party, who had been collected from the capital and its neighbourhood were brought forth almost naked Mucianus ordered these men to be drawn up apart, making the British, the German, and any other troops that there were belonging to other armies, take up separate positions The very first view of their situation paralyzed them They saw opposed to them what seemed a hostile array, threatening them with javelin and sword They saw themselves hemmed in, without arms, filthy and squalid And when they began to be separated, some to be marched to one spot, and some to another, a thrill of terror ran through them all Among the troops from Germany the panic was particularly great, for they believed that this separation marked them out for slaughter They embraced their fellow-soldiers, clung to their necks, begged for parting kisses, and entreated that they might not be deserted, or doomed in a common cause to suffer a different lot They invoked now Mucianus, now the absent Emperor, and, as a last resource, heaven and the Gods, till Mucianus came forward, and calling them "soldiers bound by the same oath and servants of the same Em-

peror," stopped the groundless panic And in deed the victorious army seconded the tears of the vanquished with their approving shouts This terminated the proceedings for that day But when Domitian harangued them a few days afterwards, they received him with increased confidence The land that was offered them they contemptuously rejected, and begged for regular service and pay Theirs were prayers indeed, but such as it was impossible to reject They were therefore received into the [illegible]

charge others were dismissed for misconduct, but this was done by degrees and in detail, always the safest mode of reducing the united strength of a multitude

47 It is a fact that, whether suggested by real poverty or by a wish to give the appearance of it, a proposition passed the Senate to the effect that a loan of sixty million sesterces from private persons should be accepted Pompeius Silvanus was appointed to manage the affair Before long, either the necessity ceased or the pretence was dropped After this, on the motion of Domitian, the consulships conferred by Vitellius were cancelled, and the honours of a censor's funeral were paid to Sabinus, great lessons both of the mutability of fortune, ever bringing together the highest honours and the lowest humiliations

48 About the same time the proconsul Lucius Piso was murdered I shall make the account of this murder as exact as possible by first reviewing a few earlier circumstances, which [illegible]

patronage was equally divided between the two [illegible]

grew through their lengthened tenure of office, and, perhaps, because an inferior feels greater interest in such a competition All the more distinguished of the proconsuls cared more for security than for power

49 At this time the legion in Africa was commanded by Valerius Festus, a young man of extravagant habits and immoderate ambition, who was now made uneasy by his relationship to Vitellius Whether this man in their frequent interviews tempted Piso to revolt, or whether he resisted such overtures, is not known for certain, for no one was present at their confidential meetings, and after Piso's death, many were disposed to ingratiate themselves with the murderer There is no doubt that the province and the troops entertained feelings of hostility to Vespasian, and some of the Vitellianists who had escaped from the capital, incessantly represented to Piso that Gaul was hesitating and Germany ready to revolt, that his own position was perilous, and that for one who in peace must be suspected, war was the safer course While this was going on Claudius Sagitta prefect of Petra's Horse making a very quick passage, reached Africa before Papirius the centurion despatched by Mucianus He declared that an order to put Piso to death had been given to the centurion, and that Galerianus, his cousin and son in law, had perished that his only hope of safety was in bold action, that in [illegible]

Mucianus, on landing in the port of Carthage, raised his voice and invoked in succession all blessings on the head of Piso as if he were Emperor, and bade the bystanders, who were astonished by this sudden and strange proceeding take up the same cry The credulous mob rushed into the market place, and demanded that Piso should shew himself They threw everything into an uproar with their clamorous shouts of joy, careless of the truth, and only [illegible]

questioning the centurion, and finding that he had sought a pretext for accusing and murdering him, he ordered the man to be executed, moved not so much by any hope of saving his life, as by indignation against the assassin, for this fellow had been one of the murderers of [illegible]

anxiety, and ceased to discharge even th[illegible]

duties of his office, shutting himself up in his palace, to guard against any casual occurrence that might lead to a new outbreak.

50. But when the agitation of the people, the execution of the centurion, and other news, true or false, exaggerated as usual by report, came to the ears of Festus, he sent some cavalry to put Piso to death They rode over at full speed, and broke into the dwelling of the proconsul in the dim light of early dawn, with their swords drawn in their hands Many of them were unacquainted with the person of Piso, for the legate *had selected some Moorish and Carthaginian* auxiliaries to perpetrate the deed Near the proconsul's chamber they chanced to meet a slave, and asked him who he was, and where Piso was to be found? The slave with a noble untruth replied, "I am he," and was immediately cut down Soon after Piso was killed, for there was on the spot one who recognized him, Bæbius Massa, one of the procurators of Africa, a name even then fatal to the good, and destined often to reappear among the causes of the sufferings which he had ere long to endure From Adrumetum, where he had stayed to watch the result, Festus went to the legion, and gave orders that Cetronius Pisanus, prefect of the camp, should be put in irons He did this out of private pique, but he called the man an accomplice of Piso Some few centurions and soldiers he punished, others he rewarded, neither the one nor the other deservedly, but he wished men to believe that he had extinguished a war He then put an end to a quarrel between the Œenses and the Leptitani, which, originat- [illegible]

numbers, had summoned to their aid the Garamantes, a wild race incessantly occupied in robbing their neighbours This had brought the Leptitani to extremities; their territories had [illegible]

was recaptured, with the exception of some which the plunderers, in their wanderings through inaccessible hamlets, had sold to more distant tribes

51. Vespasian had heard of the victory of Cremona, and had received favourable tidings from all quarters, and he was now informed of the fall of Vitellius by many persons of every rank, who, with a good fortune equal to their courage, risked the perils of the wintry sea Envoys had come from king Vologesus to offer him 40,000 Parthian cavalry. It was a matter of pride and joy to him to be courted with such splendid offers of help from the allies, and not to want them He thanked Vologesus, and recommended *him to send ambassadors to the* Senate, and to learn for himself that peace had been restored While his thoughts were fixed on Italy and on the state of the capital, he heard an unfavourable account of Domitian, which rep- [illegible]

army to complete what had yet to be done in the Jewish war.

52 *It was said that Titus before his departure* had a long interview with his father, in which he implored him not to let himself be easily excited by the reports of slanderers, but to shew an impartial and forgiving temper towards his son "Legions and fleets," he reminded him, "are not such sure bulwarks of Imperial power as a numerous family As for friends, time, altered fortunes, perhaps their passions or their errors, may weaken, may change, may even [illegible]

while their reverses touch but their nearest kin Even between brothers there can be no lasting affection, except the father sets the example" Vespasian, delighted with the brotherly affection of Titus rather than reconciled to Domitian, bade his son be of good cheer, and aggrandise the State by war and deeds of arms He [illegible]

stormy sea Rome indeed was in the very critical position of not having more than ten days' consumption in the granaries, when the sup- [illegible]

*character and reputation ranked among* the nobles The soothsayers whom he assembled directed that the remains of the old shrine should be removed to the marshes, and the new temple raised on the original site The Gods, they said, forbade the old form to be changed On the 21st of June, beneath a cloudless sky, the entire space devoted to the sacred enclosure was encompassed with chaplets and garlands Soldiers,

who bore auspicious names, entered the pre-

fountains and rivers After this, Helvidius Priscus, the prætor, first purified the spot with the

and to lend their divine help to raise the abodes which the piety of men had founded for them He then touched the wreaths, which were wound round the foundation stone and entwined with the ropes, while at the same mo-

contributions of gold and silver and virgin ores, never smelted in the furnace, but still in their natural state, were showered on the foundations The soothsayers had previously directed that no stone or gold which had been intended for any other purpose should profane the work Additional height was given to the structure, this was the only variation which religion would permit, and the one feature which had been thought wanting in the splendour of the old temple

54 Meanwhile the tidings of the death of Vitellius, *spreading* through Gaul and Germany, had caused a second war Civilis had thrown aside all disguise, and was now openly assailing the Roman power, while the legions

conflagration of the Capitol had made them believe that the end of the Roman Empire was at

that this fatal conflagration was a sign of the

Otho had sent against Vitellius, had, before their departure, bound themselves by a compact not to fail the cause of freedom, should the power of Rome be broken by a continuous succession of civil wars and internal calamities

commander of the cavalry of the Treveri Classicus was first among his countrymen in rank and wealth, he was of a royal house, of a race

schemes One was a Trever, the other a Lingon Tutor had been made by Vitellius guardian of

when he was campaigning in Gaul These two men held secret conferences to sound the views of the rest of their countrymen, and when they had secured as accomplices such as they thought suitable for their purpose, they met together in a private house in the Colonia Agrippinensis, for the State in its public policy was strongly

matter Nor could they endure the delay of deliberation, they rivalled each other in vehement assertions that the Romans were in a frenzy of discord, that their legions had been cut to pieces, that Italy was laid waste, that Rome itself was at that very moment undergoing capture, while all her armies were occupied by wars of their own If they were but to secure the passes of the Alps with bodies of troops, Gaul, with her own *freedom firmly established, might look about* her, and fix the limits of her dominion

56 These views were no sooner stated than

hope of quarter might provoke an obstinate resistance *It would be better to draw them into*

Such was the outline of their original plan Emissaries were likewise despatched throughout Gaul to stir up war, while they themselves feigned submission, that they might be the better able to crush the unsuspecting Vocula Persons, however, were found to convey information to him, but he had not sufficient strength to suppress the movement, as the legions were incomplete in numbers and disloyal So what with soldiers of doubtful fidelity and secret enemies, he thought it best under the circumstances, to make his way by meeting deceit with deceit, and by using the same arts with which he was himself assailed He therefore went down to the Colonia Agrippinenses Thither Claudius Labeo, who, as I have related, had been taken prisoner and sent out of the province into the country of the Frisii, made his escape by bribing his gaolers This man undertook, if a force were given him, to enter the Batavian territory and bring back to the Roman alliance the more influential part of that State but, though he obtained a small force of infantry and cavalry he did not venture to attempt anything among the Batavi, but only induced some of the Nervii and Betasii to take up arms, and made continual attacks on the Canninefates and the Marsaci more in the way of robbery than of war

57 Lured on by the treacherous representations of the Gauls, Vocula marched against the enemy He was near the Old Camp when Classicus and Tutor, who had gone on in advance under the pretence of reconnoitring concluded an agreement with the German chiefs They then for the first time separated themselves from the legions, and formed a camp of their own, with a separate line of entrenchment, while Vocula protested that the power of Rome was not so utterly shaken by civil war as to have become contemptible even to Treveri and Lingones 'There are still" he said, faithful provinces, victorious armies the fortune of the Empire, and avenging Gods Thus it was that Sacrovir and the Ædui in former days, Vindex and the Gauls in more recent times were crushed in a single battle The breakers of treaties may look for the vengeance of the same Deities and the same doom Julius and Augustus understood far better the character of the people Galba s policy and the diminution of their tribute have inspired them with hostile feelings They are now enemies, because their yoke is easy, when they have been plundered and stripped they will be friends' After uttering this defiance, finding that Classicus and Tutor persisted in their treachery, he changed his line of march,

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lead you to the walls of the capital, will you lift up *arms against your Country? My soul shudders* at the imagination of so horrible a crime Will you mount guard for Tutor, the Trever? Shall a Batavian give the signal for battle? Will you serve as recruits in the German battalions? What will be the issue of your wickedness when the Roman legions are marshalled against you? Will you be a second time deserters, a second time traitors, and brave the anger of heaven while you waver between your old and your new allegiance? I implore and entreat thee O Jupiter, supremely good and great, to whom through eight hundred and twenty years we have paid the honours of so many triumphs and thou, Quirinus, father of Rome, that, if it be not your pleasure that this camp should be preserved pure and inviolate under my command, you will at least not suffer it to be polluted and defiled by a Tutor and a Classicus Grant that the soldiers of Rome may either be innocent of crime, or at least experience a repentance speedy and without remorse "

59 They received his speech with feelings that varied between hope, fear, and shame Vocula then left them and was preparing to put an end to his life, when his freedmen and slaves prevented him from anticipating by his own act a most miserable death Classicus despatched one

in chains Classicus then assumed the insignia of Roman Imperial power, and entered the

troops on the Upper Rhine to take the same oath He did this after having first put to death the tribunes at Mogontiacum, and driven away the prefect of the camp, because they refused

the sword, and the direst extremities The messengers whom he sent supported their representations by their own example

60 The ties of loyalty on the one hand, and the necessities of famine on the other, kept the besieged wavering between the alternatives of glory and infamy While they thus hesitated, all usual and even unusual kinds of food failed them, for they had consumed their horses and beasts of burden and all the other animals, which though unclean and disgusting, necessity compelled them to use At last they tore up shrubs and roots and the grass that grew between the stones, and thus shewed an example of patience under privations, till at last they shamefully tarnished the lustre of their fame

stipulated for the plunder of the camp, and appointed guards who were to secure the treasure, the camp-followers and the baggage, and accompany them as they departed, stripped of everything About five miles from the spot the Germans rose upon them, and attacked them as they marched without thought of danger The bravest were cut down where they stood, the greater part as they were scattered in flight The rest made their escape to the camp while

their fury, is not positively stated They plundered and then fired the camp and all who survived the battle the flames destroyed

Lupercus, legate of one of the legions, was sent along with other gifts to Veleda, a maiden of the tribe of the Bructeri, who possessed extensive dominion for by ancient usage the Germans attributed to many of their women prophetic powers and, as the superstition

strength, even actual divinity. The authority of Veleda was then at its height, because she had foretold the success of the Germans and the destruction of the legions Lupercus, however, was murdered on the road A few of the centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reserved as hostages for the maintenance of the alliance The winter encampments of the auxiliary infantry and cavalry and of the legions, with the sole exception of those at Mogontiacum and Vindonissa, were pulled down and burnt

62 The 16th legion, with the auxiliary troops that capitulated at the same time, received orders to march from Novesium to the Colony of the Treveri, a day having been fixed by which they were to quit the camp The whole of this interval they spent in many anxious thoughts. The cowards trembled to think of those who had been massacred at the Old Camp, the better men blushed with shame at the infamy of their position "What a march is this before us!" they cried, "Who will lead us on our way? Our all is at the disposal of those whom we have made our masters for life or death" Others, without the least sense of their disgrace, stowed away about their persons their money and what else they prized most highly, while some got their arms in readiness, and girded on their weapons as if for battle While they were thus occupied, the time for their departure arrived, and proved even more dismal than their anticipation For in their intrenchments their woeful appearance had not been so noticeable, the open plain and the light of day revealed their disgrace The images of the Emperors were torn down, the standards were borne along without their usual honours, while the banners of the Gauls glittered on every side The train moved on in silence like a long funeral procession Their leader was Claudius Sanctus, one of his eyes had been destroyed, he was repulsive in countenance and even more feeble in intellect The guilt of the troops seemed to be doubled, when the other legion, deserting the camp at Bonna, joined their ranks When the report of the capture of the legions became generally known, all who [illegible] with a shower of darts, and thus made a beginning towards a future expiation of their guilt. The legions did not change the direction of their march, and encamped under the walls of the colony of the Treveri.

63 Elated with their success, Civilis and Classicus doubted whether they should not give up the Colonia Agrippinensis to be plundered by their troops. Their natural ferocity and lust for spoil prompted them to destroy the city; but the necessities of war, and the advantage of a character for clemency to men founding a new empire, forbade them to do so Civilis was also influenced by recollections of kindness received; for his son, who at the beginning of the war had [illegible] to make it an open city for all Germans, or to destroy it and so disperse the Ubii

64 Upon this the Tencteri, a tribe separated by the Rhine from the Colony, sent envoys with [illegible] pounded "For your return into the unity of the German nation and name we give thanks to the Gods whom we worship in common and to Mars, the chief of our divinities, and we congratulate you that at length you will live as free men among the free. Up to this day have the Romans closed river and land and, in a way, the very air, that they may bar our converse and prevent our meetings, or, what is a still worse insult to men born to arms, may force us to assemble unarmed and all but stripped, watched by sentinels, and taxed for the privilege But that our friendship and union may be established for ever, we require of you to strip your city of its walls, which are the bulwarks of slavery Even savage animals, if you keep them in confinement, forget their natural courage. We re [illegible] come into a common stock, so that no one may be able to secrete anything, or to detach his own [illegible] ing the pleasures, through which, rather than through their arms, the Romans secure their

65 The inhabitants of the Colony took time for deliberation, and, as dread of the future would not allow them to accept the offered terms, while their actual condition forbade an open and contemptuous rejection, they replied to the following effect 'The very first chance of freedom that presented itself we seized with more eagerness than caution, that we might unite ourselves with you and the other Germans our kinsmen by blood With respect to

from Italy or the provinces, that may have been in our territory, have either perished in the war, or have fled to their own homes As for those who in former days settled here, and have been united to us by marriage, and as for their offspring, this is their native land We cannot think you so unjust as to wish that we should slay our parents, our brothers, and our children All duties and restrictions on trade we repeal Let there be a free passage across the river, but let it be during the day time and for persons unarmed, till the new and recent privileges assume by usage the stability of time As arbiters between us we will have Civilis and Veleda, under their sanction the treaty shall be ratified The Tencteri were thus appeased, and ambassadors were sent with presents to Civilis and Veleda, who settled everything to the satisfaction of

senger of a divinity, the questions and answers

66 Thus strengthened by his alliance with the Colonia Agrippinensis, Civilis resolved to attach to himself the neighbouring States, or to

surrendered the whole tribe to Civilis Labeo made his escape before he could be intercepted

either completely cowed or else were naturally inclined in his favour

faithful to Rome The Sequani did not decline the contest Fortune favoured the better cause, and the Lingones were defeated Sabinus fled from the battle with a cowardice equal to the

68 At Rome report exaggerated all these disasters, and disturbed Mucianus with the fear

Prætorian Guard, had still at his disposal much military strength. Mucianus ejected him from his office, and, not to leave him without consolation, made him superintendent of the sale of corn To pacify the feelings of Domitian, which were not unfavourable to Varus, he appointed Arretinus Clemens, who was closely connected with the house of Vespasian, and who was also a great favourite with Domitian, to the command of the Prætorian Guard, alleging that his father, in the reign of Caligula, had admirably discharged the duties of that office The old name, he said, would please the soldiers, and Clemens himself, though on the roll of Senators, would be equal to both duties He selected the most eminent men in the State to accompany him, while others were appointed through interest At the same time Domitian and Mucianus prepared to set out, but in a very different mood, *Domitian in all the hope and impatience of* youth, Mucianus ever contriving delays to check his ardent companion, who, he feared, were he to intrude himself upon the army, might be led by the recklessness of youth or by bad advisers to compromise at once the prospects of war and of peace Two of the victorious legions, [illegible]

the Penine and Cottian, some over the Graian Alps The 14th legion was summoned from Britain, and the 6th and 10th from Spain Thus rumours of an advancing army, as well as their own temper, inclined the States of Gaul which assembled in the country of the Remi to more peaceful counsels Envoys from the Treveri were awaiting them there, and among them Tullius Valentinus, the most vehement promoter of the war, who in a set speech poured forth all the [illegible]

a turbulent fomenter of sedition, and pleased many by his frantic eloquence

69 On the other hand Julius Auspex, one of the leading chieftains among the Remi, dwelt on the power of Rome and the advantages of peace. Pointing out that war might be com- [illegible]

spex. *It is certain that the Treveri and Lingones* were injured in the eyes of the Gallic nations by their having sided with Verginius in the movement of Vindex. Many were deterred by the mutual jealousy of the provinces "Where," they asked, "could a head be found for the war? Where could they look for civil authority, and the sanction of religion? If all went well with them, what city could they select as the seat of empire?" The victory was yet to be gained, dis- [illegible]

of the States of Gaul, requiring them to abstain from hostilities, and reminding them that pardon might yet be obtained, and that friends *were ready to intercede for them*, should they repent Valentinus still opposed, and succeeded in closing the ears of his countrymen to this advice, though he was not so diligent in preparing for war as he was assiduous in haranguing

*70 Accordingly neither the Treveri, the Lingones*, nor the other revolted States, took meas- [illegible]

to capture Claudius Labeo, or to drive him [illegible]

Alps Meanwhile the 21st legion, [illegible] *the Sing*- [illegible]

larian Horse, which had been raised some [illegible] before by Vitellius, and had *afterwards gone* [illegible]

infantry and cavalry, *men from the legions* [illegible] corrupted by promises or [illegible]

however, on the approach of the Roman gen-

erals at the head of their army, they returned to their duty by an act of honourable desertion, and the Triboci Vangiones, and Cæracates, followed their example Avoiding Mogontiacum, Tutor retired with the Treveri to Bingium, trusting to the strength of the position, as he had broken down the bridge over the river Nava A sudden attack, however, was made by the infantry under the command of Sextilius, a ford was discovered, and he found himself betrayed and routed The Treveri were panic stricken by this disaster, and the common people threw down their arms and dispersed them [illegible]

been removed, as I have before related, from Novesium and Bonna to the territory of the Treveri, voluntarily swore allegiance to Vespasian These proceedings took place in the absence of Valentinus *When he returned*, full of fury and bent on again throwing everything into confusion and ruin, the legions withdrew to the Mediomatrici, a people in alliance with Rome Valentinus and Tutor again involved the Treveri in war, and murdered the two legates, Herennius and Numisius, that by diminishing the hope of pardon they might strengthen the bond of crime

71 Such was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerialis reached Mogontiacum Great expectations were raised by his arrival Eager for battle, and more ready to despise than to be on [illegible]

to their respective States with instructions to proclaim that the legions sufficed to defend the Empire, and that the allies might return to the duties of peace, secure in the thought that a war [illegible]

plete success of the enemy, hastened in their [illegible] scattered forces.

battle. This made Cerialis more [illegible]

pidity He sent to the Mediomatrici persons commissioned to conduct the legions which [illegible]

Rigodulum Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treveri, had occupied this position, which was protected by hills, and by the river Mosella He had also strengthened it with ditches and breastworks of stones These defences however did not deter the Roman general from ordering his infantry to the assault, [illegible]

counterbalanced by the courage of his own men There was some little delay in the ascent, while the troops were passing through the range of the enemy s missiles As soon as they came to *close fighting, the barbarians* were dislodged and hurled like a falling house from their position A detachment of the cavalry rode round where the hills were less steep and captured the principal Belgic chiefs and among them Valentinus, their general

72 On the following day Cerialis entered the Colony of the Treveri The soldiers were eager to destroy the city This,' they said, is the birthplace of Classicus and Tutor, it was by the treason of these men that our legions were besieged and massacred What had Cremona done like this Cremona which was torn from the *very bosom of Italy, because it had occasioned* to the conquerors the delay of a single night? Here on the borders of Germany stands unharmed a city which exults in the spoils of our armies and the blood of our generals Let the plunder be brought into the Imperial treasury, we shall be satisfied with the fire that will de[illegible]

for, now that civil war was at an end, they were *tractable* enough in dealing with an enemy [illegible]

ed between the armies as they met, they made no answer to those who would console or encourage them, but hid themselves in their tents,

and shrank from the very light of day. Nor was it so much their peril or their alarm that confounded them, as their shame and humiliation. Even the conquerors were struck dumb, and dared not utter a word of entreaty, but pleaded for pardon by their silent tears, till Cerialis at

nor by himself They were thus admitted into the same camp with the rest, and an order was read in every company, that no soldier was in any contention or altercation to reproach a comrade with mutiny or defeat.

Roman people. Since, however, words have very

the war is at an end, it may be useful for you to have heard rather than for me to have spoken Roman generals and Emperors entered your *territory, as they did the rest of Gaul, with no* ambitious purposes, but at the solicitation of your ancestors, who were wearied to the last extremity by intestine strife, while the Germans, whom they had summoned to their help, had imposed their yoke alike on friend and foe How many battles we have fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, at the cost of what hard ships to our armies, and with what result we have waged our German wars, is perfectly well known It was not to defend Italy that we occupied the borders of the Rhine, but to insure that no second Ariovistus should seize the empire of Gaul. Do you fancy yourselves to be dearer in the eyes of Civilis and the Batavi and the Transrhenane tribes, than your fathers and grandfathers were to their ancestors? There have ever been the same causes at work to make the Germans cross over into Gaul, lust, avarice, and the longing for a new home, prompting them to leave their own marshes and deserts,

mies, armies cannot exist without pay, pay cannot be furnished without tribute; all else is common between us You often command our legions You rule these and other provinces There is no privilege, no exclusion From worthy Emperors you derive equal advantage, though you dwell so far away, while cruel rulers are most formidable to their neighbours Endure the passions and rapacity of your masters, just as you bear barren seasons and excessive rains and other natural evils There will be vices as long as there are men But they are not perpetual, *and they are compensated by the occurrence of* better things Perhaps, however, you expect a milder rule under Tutor and Classicus, and fancy that armies to repel the Germans and the Britons will be furnished by less tribute than you now pay. Should the Romans be driven out (which God forbid) what can result but wars between all these nations? By the prosperity and order of eight hundred years has this fabric of empire been consolidated, nor can it be overthrown without destroying those who over*throw it Yours will be the worst peril, for* you have gold and wealth, and these are the chief incentives to war Give therefore your love and respect to the cause of peace, and to that capital in which we, conquerors and conquered, claim an equal right Let the lessons of fortune in both its forms teach you not to prefer rebellion and ruin to submission and safety." With words to this effect he quieted and encouraged his audience, who feared harsher treatment.

*advanced from every* quarter in several [illegible] Cerialis was generally censured for allowing them to unite, when he might have destroyed

them in detail The Roman army surrounded their camp with a fosse and rampart, for up to [illegible]

[illegible]

of Rome As for the Gauls, what are they but the prey of the conqueror? And yet the chief strength of the nation, the Belgæ, are with us, either openly, or in heart" Tutor maintained that the power of Rome would only increase with delay, as her armies were assembling from all quarters "One legion," he said, 'has already been brought over from Britain, others have been summoned from Spain, or are advancing from Italy. Nor are these troops newly raised levies, but they are veteran soldiers, experienced in war But the Germans, whom we are expecting, do not obey orders, and cannot be controlled, but always act according to their own caprice. The money too and other presents by which alone they can be bribed are more plentiful among the Romans, and no one can be so bent on fighting as not to prefer repose to peril, when the profit is the same But if we at once meet the foe, Cerialis has no legions but those that survive from the wreck of the German army, and these are bound by treaties to the States of Gaul And the very fact of their having, contrary to their expectations, lately routed the undisciplined force of Valentinus will confirm in their rashness both them and their general They will venture again, and will find themselves in the hands, not of an ignorant stripling, whose thoughts were of speeches and harangues rather than of battle and the sword, but in those of Civilis and Classicus, whom when they once behold they will be reminded of panic, of flight, [illegible]

their arms" Classicus put an end to these differences of opinion by giving his approval to the suggestions of Tutor, which were at once acted on

77 The centre was the post assigned to the [illegible]

[illegible]

denness, that Cerialis, who had not slept in the camp, was in his chamber and even in his bed, when he heard at the same moment that the battle had begun, and that his men were being worsted He rebuked the alarm of the messengers, till the whole extent of the disaster became visible, and he saw that the camp of the legions had been forced that the cavalry were routed, that the bridge over the Mosella, which connected the farther bank of the river with the Colony, was held by the Germans Undismayed by the confusion, Cerialis held back the fugitives with his own hand, and readily exposing himself, with his person entirely unprotected, to the missiles of the enemy, he succeeded by a daring and successful effort, with the prompt aid of his bravest soldiers, in recovering the bridge and holding it with a picked force Then returning to the camp, he saw the broken companies of the legions, which had been captured at Bonna and Novesium, with but few soldiers round the standards, and the eagles all but surrounded by the foe Fired with indignation, he exclaimed, "It is not Flaccus or Vocula, whom you are [illegible]

[illegible]

the enemy Go, tell Vespasian, or, since they are nearer, Civilis and Classicus, that you have deserted your general on the battlefield Legions will come who will not leave me unavenged or you unpunished"

78 All this was true, and the tribunes and prefects heaped on their men the same reproaches The troops formed themselves in cohorts and companies, for they could not deploy into line, as the enemy were scattered everywhere, while from the fact that the battle was raging within the entrenchments, they were themselves hampered with their tents and baggage Tutor, [illegible]

[illegible]

Their own account was, that they were alarmed by the sight of the cohorts, which, after being broken at the first onset, rallied on the top of the hills, and presented the appearance of rein-

forcements What checked them in their course

took and destroyed the enemy's camp on the same day

79 No long time was allowed to the soldiers

they had massacred all the Germans who were scattered throughout their dwellings Hence their alarm and reasonable importunity in begging for help, before the enemy, recovering their strength, could raise their spirits for a new effort or for thoughts of revenge And indeed Civilis had marched in their direction, nor was he by any means weak, as he had still, in unbroken force, the most warlike of his cohorts, which consisted of Chauci and Frisii, and which was posted at Tolbiacum, on the frontiers of the Agrippinenses He was, however, diverted from his purpose by the deplorable news that this cohort had been entirely destroyed by a stratagem of the Agrippinenses, who, having stupefied the Germans by a profuse entertainment and abundance of wine, fastened the doors, set fire to the houses, and burned them At the same time Cerialis advanced by forced marches, and relieved the city Civilis too was beset by other fears He was afraid that the 14th legion, supported by the fleet from Britain, might do mischief to the Batavi along their line of coast The legion was, however, marched overland under the command of Fabius Priscus into the territory of the Nervii and Tungri, and these two states were allowed to capitulate The Canninefates, taking the offensive, attacked our fleet, and the larger part of the ships was either sunk or captured The same tribe also routed a crowd of Nervii, who by a spontaneous movement had taken up arms on the Roman side Classicus also gained a victory over some cavalry, who had been sent on to Novesium by Cerialis These reverses, which, though trifling, came in rapid succession, destroyed by degrees

ber of Domitian's attendants, for he felt uneasy at his popularity with the troops, and feared the proud spirit of the man, who could not endure an equal, much less a superior Antonius then went to Vespasian, who received him, not indeed as he expected, but in a not unfriendly spirit Two opposite influences acted on the Emperor, on the one hand were the merits of Antonius, under whose conduct the war had beyond all doubt been terminated, on the other, were the letters of Mucianus And everyone else inveighed against him, as an ill affected and conceited man, nor did they forget the scandals of his early life Antonius himself failed not to provoke offence by his arrogance and his excessive propensity to dwell on his own services He reproached other men with being cowards, Cæcina he stigmatized as a captive and a prisoner of war Thus by degrees he came to be thought of less weight and worth, though his friendship with the Emperor to all appearance remained the same

81 In the months during which Vespasian was waiting at Alexandria for the periodical return of the summer gales and settled weather at sea, many wonders occurred which seemed to point him out as the object of the favour of heaven and of the partiality of the Gods One of the common people of Alexandria, well

eased hand, at the counsel of the same God,

fruitless attempt, yet, on the other, was induced by the entreaties of the men and by the language of his flatterers to hope for success At last he

They discussed the matter from different points of view 'In the one case," they said, 'the faculty of sight was not wholly destroyed, and might return, if the obstacles were removed, in the other case, the limb, which had fallen

might be restored, if

...tance, amid the intense expectation of the multitude of bystanders, accomplished what was required The hand was instantly restored to its use, and the light of day again shone upon the blind Persons actually present attest both facts, even now when nothing is to be gained by falsehood

82 Vespasian thus came to conceive a deeper desire to visit the sanctuary of Serapis, that he might consult the God about the interests of his throne He gave orders that all persons should be excluded from the temple He had entered, and was absorbed in worship, when he saw behind him one of the chief men of Egypt, named Basilides, whom he knew at the time to be detained by sickness at a considerable distance, as much as several days' journey, from Alexandria He enquired of the priests, whether Basilides had on this day entered the temple He enquired of others whom he met, whether he had been seen in the city At length, sending some horsemen, he ascertained that at that very instant the man had been eighty miles distant He then concluded that it was a divine apparition, and discovered an oracular force in the name of Basilides

...

consolidated the power of Egypt, was setting up in the *newly built city of Alexandria forti*... and rites of worship there

...

same moment he saw the youth ascend to heaven in a blaze of fire Roused by so significant and strange an appearance, Ptolemy disclosed the vision of the night to the Egyptian priests, whose business it is to understand such matters As they knew but little of Pontus or of foreign countries, he enquired of Timotheus, an Athenian, one of the family of the Eumolpids, whom he had invited from Eleusis to preside over the sacred rites, what this worship

...

sacred to the infernal Jupiter, for there also stood close at hand a female figure, to which many gave the name of Proserpine Ptolemy, ...

...

denounced ruin against the king and his realm, unless his bidding were performed Ptolemy then gave directions that an embassy should be despatched with presents to king Scydrothemis, who at that time ruled the people of Sinope, and instructed them when they were on the point of sailing to consult the Pythian Apollo Their voyage was prosperous, and the response ... was clear The God bade them go

...

to Scydrothemis the presents from their king, with his request and message He wavered in purpose, dreading at one moment the anger of ... the threats and

...

*weight of his gold* A terrible vision then appeared to Scydrothemis, warning him to thwart no longer the purposes of the God As he yet hesitated various disasters, pestilence and the unmistakable anger of heaven, which grew

...

Ptolemy and himself and the ... gathering about them The people turned away angrily from their king were jealous of Egypt, and, fearing for themselves, thronged around the temple The story becomes at this point

...

andria on the third day A temple, proportioned to the grandeur of the city, was erected in a place called Rhacotis, where there had stood a chapel consecrated in old times to Serapis and Isis Such is the most popular account of the origin and introduction of the God Serapis I am aware indeed that there are some who say that he was brought from Seleucia, a city of Syria, in the reign of Ptolemy III., while others assert that it was the act of the same king but that the place from which he was brought was Memphis, once a famous city and the strength of ancient Egypt The God himself, because he heals the sick, many identified with Æsculapius, others with Osiris, the deity of the highest antiquity among these nations, not a few with Jupiter, as being supreme ruler of all things, but most people with Pluto, arguing from the emblems which may be seen on his statues, or from conjectures of their own

85 Domitian and Mucianus received, before they reached the Alps, favourable news of the operations among the Treveri The best proof of the victory was seen in the enemy s general Valentinus, who with undaunted courage shewed in his look his habitual high spirit He was heard, but only that they might judge of his character, and he was condemned During his execution he replied to one who taunted him with the subjection of his country "That I take as my consolation in death Mucianus now brought forward as a new thought a plan he had long concealed Since,' he said by the blessing of the Gods the strength of the enemy has been broken it would little become Domitian, now that the war is all but finished to interfere with the glory of others If the stability of the Empire or the safety of Gaul were in danger, it would have been right for Cæsar to take his place in the field, but the Canninefates and Batavi should be handed over to inferior generals Let the Emperor display from the near neighbourhood of Lugdunum the might and prestige of imperial power, not meddling with trifling risks, though he would not be wanting on greater occasions"

86. His artifices were understood but it was a part of their respect not to expose them Thus they arrived at Lugdunum It is believed that from this place Domitian despatched secret emissaries to Cerialis and tempted his loyalty with the question whether, on his shewing himself, he would hand over to him the command of the army Whether in this scheme Domitian was thinking of war with his father, or of collecting money and men to be used against his brother, was uncertain, for Cerialis, by a judicious temporising, eluded the request as prompted by an idle and childish ambition Domitian, seeing that his youth was despised by the older officers, gave up even the less important functions of government which he had before exercised Under a semblance of simple and modest tastes, he wrapped himself in a profound reserve, and affected a devotion to literature and a love of poetry, thus seeking to throw a veil over his character, and to withdraw himself from the jealousy of his brother, of whose milder temper, so unlike his own, he judged most falsely

## BOOK V, A D 70

1 EARLY in this year Titus Cæsar, who had been selected by his father to complete the subjugation of Judæa, and who had gained distinction as a soldier while both were still subjects, began to rise in power and reputation as armies and provinces emulated each other in their attachment to him The young man himself, anxious to be thought superior to his station, was ever displaying his gracefulness and his energy in war By his courtesy and affability he called forth a willing obedience, and he often mixed with the common soldiers, while working or marching without impairing his dignity as general He found in Judæa three legions the 5th, the 10th and the 15th, all old troops of Vespasian s To these he added the 12th from Syria, and some men belonging to the 18th and 3rd, whom he had withdrawn from Alexandria This force was accompanied by twenty cohorts of allied troops and eight squadrons of cavalry, by the two kings Agrippa and Sohemus, by the auxiliary forces of king Antiochus, by a strong contingent of Arabs, who hated the Jews with the usual hatred of neighbours, and, lastly, by many persons brought from the capital and from Italy by private hopes of securing the yet unengaged affections of the Prince With this force Titus entered the enemy s territory, preserving strict order on his march, reconnoitring every spot, and always ready to give battle At last he encamped near Jerusalem

2 As I am about to relate the last days of a famous city, it seems appropriate to throw some light on its origin

Some say that the Jews were fugitives from the island of Crete, who settled on the nearest coast of Africa about the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the power of Jupiter Evidence of this is sought in the name There is a famous mountain in Crete called Ida, the

neighbouring tribe, the Idæi came to be called Judæi by a barbarous lengthening of the na

…tal and hatred of their neighbours to seek a new dwelling place Others describe them as an Assyrian horde who, not having sufficient terri tory took possession of part of Egypt, and

Solymi, a nation celebrated in the poems of Homer, who called the city which they founded Hierosolyma after their own name

realm, and to convey into some foreign land this race detested by the gods The people, who had been collected after diligent search, find ing themselves left in a desert, sat for the most part in a stupor of grief, till one of the exiles, Moyses by name, warned them not to look for any relief from God or man, forsaken as they were of both, but to trust to themselves taking for their heaven sent leader that man who should first help them to be quit of their present misery They agreed, and in utter ignorance began to advance at random Nothing however, distressed them so much as the scar city of water, and they had sunk ready to perish in all directions over the plain when a herd of wild asses was seen to retire from their pasture to a rock shaded by trees Moyses followed them, and, guided by the appearance of a grassy spot, discovered an abundant spring of water This furnished relief After a continuous jour ney for six days, on the seventh they possessed themselves of a country, from which they ex pelled the inhabitants, and in which they found ed a city and a temple

and thirsty wanderings They slay the ram, seemingly in derision of Hammon, and they sacrifice the ox, because the Egyptians worship it as Apis They abstain from swine's flesh, in consideration of what they suffered when they were infected by the leprosy to which this ani mal is liable By their frequent fasts they still bear witness to the long hunger of former days, and the Jewish bread, made without leaven, is retained as a memorial of their hurried seizure of corn We are told that the rest of the seventh day was adopted because this day brought with it a termination of their toils, after a while the charm of indolence beguilded them into giving up the seventh year also to inaction But others say that it is an observance in honour of Saturn, either from the primitive elements of their faith having been transmitted from the Idæi, who are said to have shared the flight of that God, and to have founded the race, or from the cir *cumstance that of the seven stars which rule* the destinies of men Saturn moves in the highest orbit and with the mightiest power, and that many of the heavenly bodies complete their revolutions and courses in multiples of seven

5 This worship, however introduced is upheld by its antiquity, all their other customs, which are at once perverse and disgusting, owe their strength to their very badness The most

ready to shew compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of ene mies They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women, among themselves nothing is unlawful Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men

sion for propagating their race and a contempt for death They are wont to bury rather than to burn their dead following in this the Egyptian custom, they bestow the same care on the

dead, and they hold the same belief about the *lower world* Quite *different is their faith about* things divine The Egyptians worship many animals and images of monstrous form, the Jews have purely mental conceptions of Deity, as one in essence They call those profane who make representations of God in human shape out of perishable materials They believe that Being to be supreme and eternal, neither capable *of representation, nor of decay They* therefore do not allow any images to stand in their cities, much less in their temples This flattery is not paid to their kings, nor this honour to our Emperors From the fact, however, that their priests used to chant to the music of flutes and cymbals, and to wear garlands of ivy, and that a golden vine was found in the temple, *some have thought that they worshipped Father* Liber, the conqueror of the East, though their institutions do not by any means harmonize with the theory, for Liber established a festive and cheerful worship, while the Jewish religion is tasteless and mean

6 Eastward the country is bounded by Arabia, to the south lies Egypt, on the west are *Phœnicia and the Mediterranean Northward* it commands an extensive prospect over Syria The inhabitants are healthy and able to bear fatigue *Rain* is uncommon, but the soil is fertile Its products resemble our own They have, besides, the balsam-tree and the palm The palm groves are tall and graceful. The balsam is a shrub, each branch, as it fills with sap, may *be pierced with a fragment of stone or pottery* If steel is employed, the veins shrink up The sap is used by physicians Libanus is the principal mountain, and has, strange to say, amidst these burning heats, a summit shaded with trees and never deserted by its snows The same range supplies and sends forth the stream of the Jordan This river does not discharge itself into the *sea, but flows entire through two lakes,* and is lost in the third This is a lake of vast circumference, it resembles the sea, but is more nauseous in taste, it breeds pestilence among those who live *near* by its noisome odour, it cannot be moved by the wind, and it affords no home either to fish or water birds These strange waters support what is thrown upon them, as on a solid surface, and all persons, whether they can swim or no, are equally buoyed up by the waves At a certain season of the year the lake throws up bitumen, and the [illegible] ing it has [illegible] [illegible] is sprinkled upon it, it coagulates and floats upon the surface *Those whose business it is take it with the hand,* and draw it on to the deck of the boat, it then continues of itself to flow in and lade the vessel till the stream is cut off *Nor* can this be done by any instrument of brass or iron It *shrinks from blood or any cloth stained by the* menstrua *of* women Such is the account of old authors, but those who know the country say *that the bitumen moves in heaving masses on* the water, that it is drawn by hand to the shore, and that there, when dried by the evaporation of the earth and the power of the sun, it is cut into pieces with axes and wedges just as timber or stone would be

7 Not far from this lake lies a plain, once fertile, they say, and the site of great cities, but *afterwards struck by lightning and consumed* Of this event, they declare, traces still remain, for the soil, which is scorched in appearance, has lost its productive power Everything that grows spontaneously, as well as what is planted by hand, either when the leaf or flower have been developed, or after maturing in the usual form, becomes black and rotten, and crumbles *into a kind of dust I am ready to allow, on the* one hand, that cities, once famous, may have been consumed by fire from heaven, while, on the other, I imagine that the earth is infected by the exhalations of the lake, that the surrounding air is tainted, and that thus the growth of harvest and the fruits of autumn decay under the equally noxious influences of soil and *climate The river Belus also flows into the Jewish* sea About its mouth is a kind of sand which is collected, mixed with nitre, and fused into glass This shore is of limited extent, *but furnishes* an inexhaustible supply to the exporter

8 A great part of Judæa consists of scattered villages They have also towns *Jerusalem* is the capital There stood a temple of immense *wealth First came the city with its fortifications*, then the royal palace, then, within the innermost defences the temple itself Only the *Jew* might *approach the gates, all but priests* were forbidden to pass the threshold While the East was under the sway of the Assyrians, the *Medes, and the Persians,* Jews *were the* most contemptible of the subject tribes When the Macedonians became supreme, King Antiochus strove to destroy the national *superstition,* and to introduce Greek civilization, but was *prevented by his war with the Parthians from* at all improving this vilest of nations, for at this time the revolt of Arsaces had taken place The Macedonian power was *now weak,* while the

*Parthian had not yet reached its full strength*, and, as the Romans were still far off, the Jews chose kings for themselves Expelled by the fickle populace, and regaining their throne by force of arms, these princes, while they ventured on the wholesale banishment of their subjects, on the destruction of cities, on the murder of brothers, wives, and parents, and the other usual atrocities of despots, fostered the national superstition by appropriating the dignity of the priesthood as the support of their political power.

9 Cneius Pompeius was the first of our countrymen to subdue the Jews Availing himself of the right of conquest, he entered the temple Thus it became commonly known that the place stood empty with no similitude of gods *within, and that the shrine had nothing to reveal* The walls of Jerusalem were destroyed, the temple was left standing After these provinces had fallen, in the course of our civil wars, into the hands of Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, seized Judæa He was slain by Publius Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven back over the Euphrates. Caius Sosius reduced the Jews to subjection The royal power, which had been bestowed by Antony on Herod, was augmented by the victorious Augustus On Herod's death, one Si

ula to set up his statue in the temple, they preferred the alternative of war The death of the Emperor put an end to the disturbance The

freedmen, one of whom, Antonius Felix, indulging in every kind of barbarity and lust, exercised the power of a king in the spirit of a slave He had married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and so was

Claudius was the

ous army the whole of the level country and all the cities, except Jerusalem The following year had been wholly taken up with civil strife, and had passed, as far as the Jews were concerned, in inaction Peace having been established in Italy, foreign affairs were once more remembered Our indignation was heightened by the

their walls, whence, if successful, they might venture to advance, and where, if repulsed, they had a refuge at hand The cavalry with some light infantry was sent to attack them, and fought without any decisive result Shortly afterwards the enemy retreated During the following days they fought a series of engagements in front of the gates, till they were driven within the walls by continual defeats The Romans then began to prepare for an assault It seemed beneath them to await the result of

it would delay his enjoyment of them But the commanding situation of the city had been strengthened by enormous works which would have been a thorough defence even for level *ground Two hills of great height were fenced* in by walls which had been skilfully obliqued or bent inwards, in such a manner that the flank of an assailant was exposed to missiles The rock terminated in a precipice; the towers were raised to a height of sixty feet, where the *hill lent its aid to the fortifications, where the* ground fell, to a height of one hundred and twenty. They had a marvellous appearance, and *to a distant spectator seemed to be of uniform* elevation Within were other walls surrounding the palace, and, rising to a conspicuous

its own walls, which were more [illegible] constructed than the others. Even the

nades with which it was surrounded formed an admirable outwork It contained an inexhaustible spring, there were subterranean excavations in the hill, and tanks and cisterns for holding rain water The founders of the state had foreseen that frequent wars would result from the singularity of its customs, and so had made every provision against the most protracted siege After the capture of their city by Pompey, experience and apprehension taught them much Availing themselves of the sordid policy of the Claudian era to purchase the right of fortification, they raised in time of peace such walls as were suited for war Their numbers were increased by a vast rabble collected from the overthrow of the other cities All the most obstinate rebels had escaped into the place, and perpetual seditions were the consequence There were three generals, and as many armies Simon held the outer and larger circuit of walls John, also called Bargioras, occupied the middle city Eleazar had fortified the temple John and Simon were strong in numbers and equipment, Eleazar in position There were continual skirmishes, surprises, and incendiary fires, and a vast quantity of corn was burnt Before long John sent some emissaries, who, under pretence of sacrificing, slaughtered Eleazar and his partisans, and gained possession of the temple The city was thus divided between two factions, till, as the Romans approached, war with the foreigner brought about a reconciliation

13 Prodigies had occurred, which this nation, prone to superstition, but hating all religious rites, did not deem it lawful to expiate by offering and sacrifice There had been seen hosts joining battle in the skies, the fiery gleam of arms, the temple illuminated by a sudden radiance from the clouds The doors of the inner shrine were suddenly thrown open, and a voice of more than mortal tone was heard to cry that the Gods were departing At the same instant there was a mighty stir as of departure Some few put a fearful meaning on these events, but in most there was a firm persuasion, that in the ancient records of their priests was contained a prediction of how at this very time the East was to grow powerful, and rulers, coming from Judæa, were to acquire universal empire These mysterious prophecies had pointed to Vespasian and Titus, but the common people, with the usual blindness of ambition, had interpreted these mighty destinies of themselves and could not be brought even by disasters to believe the truth I have heard that the total number of the besieged, of every age and both sexes, amounted to six hundred thousand All who were able bore arms, and a number, more than proportionate to the population, had the courage to do so Men and women showed equal resolution, and life seemed more terrible than death, if they were to be forced to leave their country Such was this city and nation, and Titus Cæsar, seeing that the position forbad an assault or any of the more rapid operations of war, determined to proceed by earthworks and covered approaches The legions had their respective duties assigned to them, and there was a cessation from fighting till all the inventions, used in ancient warfare, or devised by modern ingenuity for the reduction of cities, were constructed

14 Meanwhile Civilis, having recruited his army from Germany after his defeat among the Treveri, took up his position at the Old Camp, where his situation would protect him, and where the courage of his barbarian troops would be raised by the recollection of successes gained on the spot He was followed to this place by Cerialis, whose forces had now been doubled by the arrival of the 2nd, 6th, and 14th legions The auxiliary infantry and cavalry, summoned long before, had hastened to join him after his victory Neither of the generals loved delay But a wide extent of plain naturally saturated with water kept them apart Civilis had also thrown a dam obliquely across the Rhine, so that the stream, diverted by the obstacle, might overflow the adjacent country Such was the character of the district, full of hidden perils from the varying depth of the fords, and unfavourable to our troops The Roman soldier is heavily armed and afraid to swim while the German, who is accustomed to rivers, is favoured by the lightness of his equipment and the height of his stature

15 The Batavi provoking a conflict, the struggle was at once begun by all the boldest spirits among our troops but a panic arose, when they saw arms and horses swallowed up in the vast depths of the marshes The Germans leapt lightly through the well known shallows, and frequently, quitting the front, hung on the rear and flanks of our army It was neither the close nor the distant fighting of a land battle, it was more like a naval contest Struggling among the waters, or exerting every limb where they found any firm footing the wounded and the unhurt, those who could swim and those who could not were involved in one common destruction The loss however was less than might have been expected from the confusion,

for the Germans, not venturing to leave the morass, returned to their camp The result of this battle roused both generals, though from

were thoroughly roused by shame The barbarians spent the night in singing and shouting; our men in rage and threats of vengeance

16 Next morning Cerialis formed his front with the cavalry and auxiliary infantry, in the

right were the Batavi and the Gugerni, the left, which was nearer the river, was occupied by the Transrhenane tribes The exhortations of the generals were not addressed as formal

them that in destroying for ever their treacherous, cowardly, and beaten foe, they had to execute a punishment, rather than to fight a battle They had lately contended with a superior force, and yet the Germans, the strength of the hostile army, had been routed, a few were left, who carried terror in their hearts and scars upon their backs He addressed to the several legions appropriate appeals The 14th were styled the 'Conquerors of Britain , the powerful influence of the 6th had made Galba Emperor, the men of the 2nd were in that battle first to consecrate their new standards and new eagle Then riding up to the army of Germany, he stretched forth his hand, and implored them to recover their river bank and their camp by the slaughter of the foe A joyful shout arose from the whole army, some of whom after long peace lusted for battle, while others, weary of war, desired peace, all were looking for rewards and for future repose

ments of their glory, that they were treading under foot the ashes and bones of legions "Wherever," he said, "the Roman turns his eyes captivity, disaster, and everything that is terrible, confront him Do not be alarmed by the adverse result of the battle among the Treveri There, their own success proved hurtful to the

Rhine and the Gods of Germany are in your sight Under their auspices give battle, remembering your wives, your parents, and your fatherland This day will either be the most glorious among the deeds of the past, or will be infamous in the eyes of posterity" These words were hailed, according to their custom, with the clash of arms and with wild antics, and then the battle was commenced by a discharge of stones, leaden balls, and other missiles, our soldiers not entering the morass, while the Germans sought to provoke, and so draw them on

18 When their store of missiles was spent,

unsteady At the same time a column of the Bructeri swam across from the dam, which I have described as carried out into the river Here there was some confusion The line of the

serter came up to Cerialis, offering an opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear, if some cavalry were sent along the edge of the morass The ground there was firm, and the Gugerni, to whom the post had been allotted, were careless Two squadrons were sent with the deserter, and outflanked the unsuspecting enemy

*fell, and night was at hand*

19 The next day the 14th legion was sent into the Upper Province to join Gallus Annius

defence of the Batavian capital, but carrying off property that could be removed, and setting fire to the remainder, he retreated into the island, aware that there were not vessels

for constructing a bridge, and that the Roman army could not cross the river in any other way He also demolished the dyke, constructed by Drusus Germanicus, and, by *destroying this* barrier, sent the river flowing down a steep channel on the side of Gaul The river having been thus, so to speak, diverted, the narrowness of the channel between the island and Germany *created* an appearance of an uninterrupted surface of dry ground Tutor, Classicus, and one *hundred and thirteen senators of the Treveri*, also crossed the Rhine Among them was Alpinius Montanus, of whose mission into Gaul by Antonius I have already spoken He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinius His other adherents were now endeavouring to collect auxiliaries among these danger loving *tribes by appeals to their* pity and their greed

20 The war was so far from being at an end, that Civilis in *one* day attacked on four points the positions of the auxiliary infantry and cavalry and of the legions, assailing the tenth legion at Arenacum, the second at Batavodurum, and *the camp of the auxiliary infantry and cavalry* at Grinnes and Vada, and so dividing his forces, that he himself, his sister's son Verax, Classicus, and Tutor, led each his own division They were not confident of accomplishing all these objects, but they hoped that, if they made many ventures, fortune would favour them on *some one point Besides, Cerialis was not cautious*, and might easily be intercepted, as the multiplicity of tidings hurried him from place to place The force, which had to attack the tenth legion, thinking it a hard matter to storm a legionary encampment, surprised some troops, who had gone out, and were busy felling timber, *killed the prefect of the camp, five centurions of the first rank*, and a few soldiers, the rest found shelter behind the fortifications At Batavodurum the German troops tried to break down the bridge partly built Night terminated an indecisive conflict

21 There was greater danger at C[illegible] Vada Civil[illegible] em Briganticus, who commanded a squadron of cavalry, and of whose loyalty to the Roman cause and enmity to his uncle Civilis I have already spoken. But when Cerialis came up with a picked body of cavalry, the *fortune of the day changed, and the Ger*mans were driven headlong into the river Civilis, who was recognised while seeking to stop his flying troops, became the mark of many missiles, left his horse, and swam across the river Verax escaped in the same way Some light vessels were brought up, and carried off *Tutor and Classicus Even on this occasion the* Roman fleet was not present at the engagement, though orders had been given to that effect Fear kept them away, and their crews were dispersed about other military duties Cerialis in fact allowed too little time for executing his commands, he was hasty in his plans, though *eminently successful in their results Fortune* helped him even where skill had failed, and so both the general and his army became less careful about discipline A few days after this he escaped the peril of actual capture, but not without great disgrace

22 He had gone to Novesium and Bonna, to *inspect the camps which were then in course* of erection for the winter abode of the legions, and was making his way back with the fleet, his escort being in disorder, and his sentries negligent This was observed by the Germans and they planned a surprise They chose a dark and cloudy night, and moving *rapidly down the stream, entered the entrenchments without* opposition The carnage was at first helped on by a cunning device They cut the ropes of the tents, and slaughtered the soldiers as they lay buried beneath their own dwellings Another force put the fleet into confusion, threw their grapling irons on the vessels, and dragged them *away by the sterns They sought at first to elude* notice by silence, but when the slaughter was begun, by way of increasing the panic they raised on all sides a deafening shout The Romans, awakened by sounds, looked for their arms and rushed through the passages of the camp, some few with their proper accoutrements, *but most with their garments wrapped* round their shoulders, and with drawn swords in their hands The general, who was half asleep, and all but naked, was saved by the enemy's mistake They carried off the *prætorian* vessel which was distinguished by a flag, believing that the general was on board Cerialis *indeed had passed* the night elsewhere, *in the* company, as many believed, of an Ubian woman, Claudia Sacrata The sentinels sought to excuse their own scandalous neglect by the disgraceful conduct of the general, *alleging that* they had been ordered to be s[illegible] asleep The enemy rowed back in broad daylight with the captured vessels The prætorian *trireme* they towed

up the river Lupia as a present to Veleda.

23 Civilis was seized by a desire to make a naval demonstration He manned all the biremes that he had, and such vessels as were propelled by a single bank of oars To these he added a vast number of boats He put in each three or four hundred men, the usual complement of a Liburnian galley With these were the captured vessels, in which, picturesquely enough, plaids of various colours were used for sails The place selected was an expanse of water, not unlike the sea, where the mouth of the Mosa serves to discharge the Rhine into the

alarm, drew up his fleet in line, and, though inferior in numbers, it had the advantage in the experience of the crews, the skill of the pilots, and the size of the vessels The Romans had the stream with them, the enemy's vessels

Cerialis mercilessly ravaged the Island of the Batavi, but, with a policy familiar to commanders, left untouched the estates and houses of Civilis Meanwhile, however, the autumn was far advanced, and the river, swollen by the continual rains of the season, overflowed the

carried away by the force of the stream

nor is it unlike the truth, since a capitulation followed in a few days Cerialis, sending secret

submitted, that the Batavi had ...

entertained him, and they had already tres-

25 Thus promises were mingled with threats When the fidelity of the Transrhenane tribes had been thus shaken, among the Batavi also there arose debates "We can no longer," they said, "postpone our ruin The servitude of the whole world cannot be averted by a single nation What has been accomplished by destroying legions with fire and sword, but that more legions and stronger have been brought up? If it was for Vespasian that we fought this war, then Vespasian rules the world, if we meant to

burdens borne by the other allies No tribute, but valour and manhood are demanded of us This is the next thing to liberty, and if we must choose between masters, then we may more honourably bear with the Emperors of Rome, than with the women of the Germans " Such were the murmurs of the lower class, the nobles spoke in fiercer language "We have been driven into war," they said, "by the fury of Civilis. He sought to counterbalance his private wrongs by the destruction of his nation Then were the Gods angry with the Batavi when the legions were besieged, when the legates were slain, when the war, so necessary to that one man, so fatal

tice of Civilis He determined to anticipate them, moved not only by weariness of his sufferings, but also by that clinging to life which often breaks the noblest spirits He asked for a conference The bridge over the river Nabalia was cut down, and the two generals advanced to the

Primus Antonius, whose letters urged me to take up arms, for he feared lest the legions of Germany and the youth of Gaul should cross the Alps What Antonius advised by his letters,

Hordeonius suggested by word of mouth I fought the same battle in Germany, as did Mucianus in Syria, Aponius in Mœsia, Flavianus in Pannonia"

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